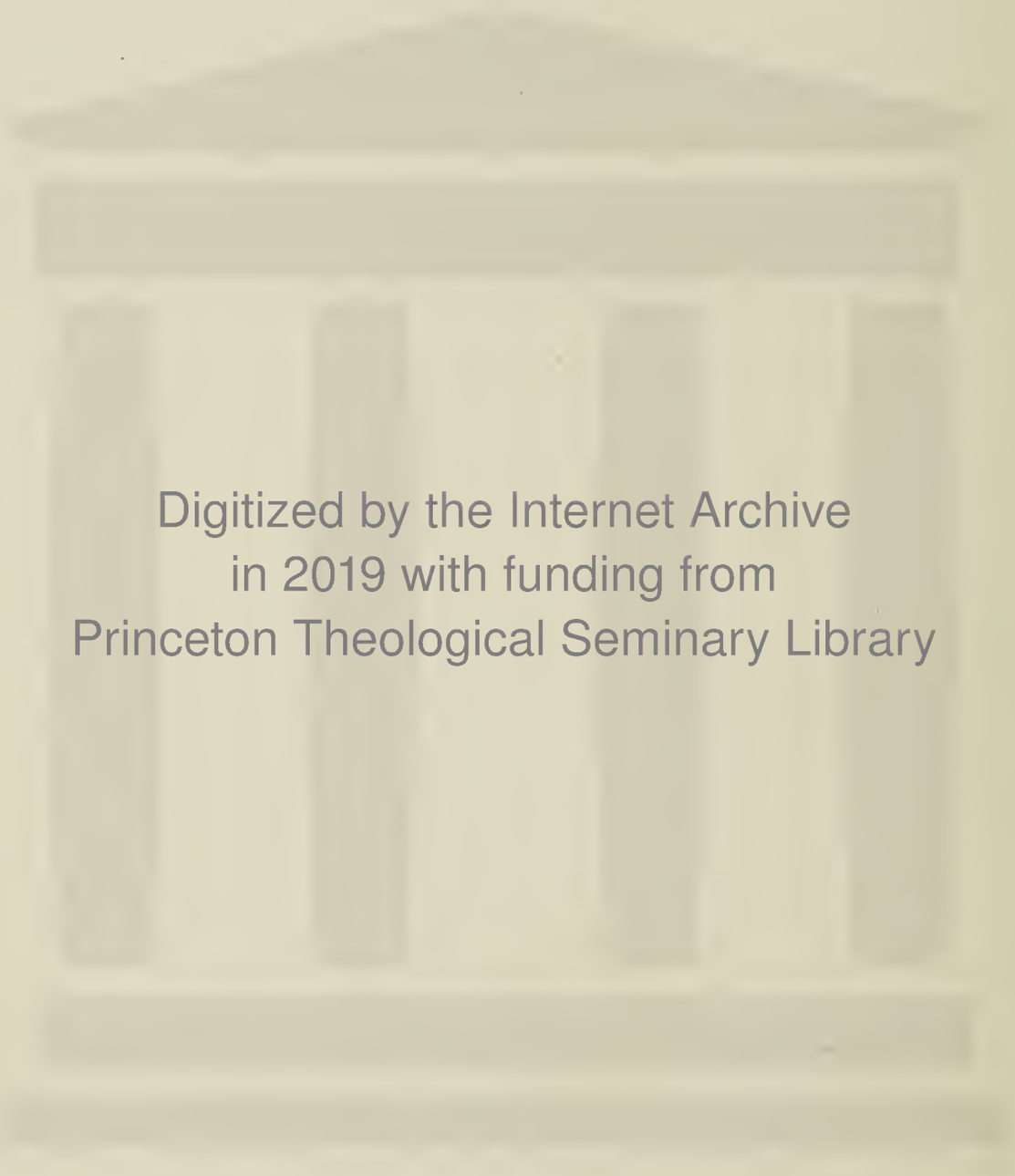


The Pilgrims

and
Their Religious, Intellectual
and Civic Life

By WALTER A. POWELL

MERCANTILE
PRINTING COMPANY
Wilmington, Delaware
1923

Affectionately Dedicated
To My Wife
Ray Haydrick Powell

Page Errata

43. Line 18. Read *ordinary* for ordianry.
71. Line 15. Read *economic* for econmic.
71. Line 17. Read *propagating* for propogating.
94. Line 6. Read *It is* for Its.
136. Line 3. Read *Lords* for Lord's.
136. Line 24. Read *rite* for right.
150. Line 22. Read *franchise* for fanchise.
237. Line 17. Read *censorship* for censhorship.

Contents

Introduction

DURING the reign of Queen Elizabeth in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century, under the teaching and leadership of John Browne, a clergyman of the Established Church of England, some members of that Church withdrew from it, and with others organized a religious body, which became known as Brownists or Separatists. They were non-Conformists, and therefore under the ban of the English laws.

In 1606, a Separatist Congregation was organized at Scrooby, England. In 1607 and 1608 about one hundred members of this congregation, under the leadership of their Pastor, John Robinson, William Brewster and William Bradford, fled from England to Amsterdam, Holland. After remaining in that city one year they removed to Leyden.

About 1617, Pastor Robinson, William Brewster, William Bradford, John Carver and Edward Winslow conceived the idea of having this Leyden congregation, then numbering about three hundred, emigrate, and establish a Colony of Separatists in America. This congregation of Separatists, however, refused to emigrate. Pastor Robinson and his associates persisted, and finally obtained the consent of about thirty-three persons from Leyden to emigrate, although they were not all Separatists—notably Captain Miles Standish and his wife Rose

The exact number of those emigrating from Leyden who were Separatists is not known.

In August 1620, those from Leyden, viz:—twelve men, including the leaders—Brewster, Bradford, Carver and Winslow, six women, ten children and five persons named as servants, sailed in the Speedwell, a small ship, from Delft Haven, bound for the New World. The Speedwell sailed to Southampton, England, and was there joined by the Mayflower with eighty seven emigrants recruited in England, mainly by the Merchant Adventurers who furnished the money for the expedition, from all classes—some good and some bad and undesirable people. Very few, if any, of these emigrants were Separatists. It is not claimed for these recruits from England that their motive for emigrating was other than economic.

On August 6, 1620, the Speedwell, with twenty emigrants, a part of her passengers having been transferred to the Mayflower, and the Mayflower with one hundred people, sailed from Southampton. The Speedwell, however, proved to be unseaworthy. After a second attempt to proceed, those in the Speedwell who still wished to emigrate were transferred to the Mayflower, and those in the Mayflower and Speedwell, to the number of twenty, who did not wish to proceed, with some of the weaker ones, were put in the Speedwell and returned home. The Mayflower then sailed alone for the New World with one hundred emigrants, including men, women and children.

In the History of Plymouth Plantation William Bradford calls those who sailed in the Speedwell from Delft Haven "Pilgrimes."

From this incident all of the emigrants who sailed in the Mayflower recruited in England of every type, as well as the small number of Separatists from Leyden, have been called "Pilgrims," and invested with a religious character.

There has been some confusion in the indiscriminate use of the terms "Pilgrim" and "Puritan," as applied to the early New England Colonists. The Pilgrims were those who settled Plymouth Colony, in 1620, while the Puritans founded The Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630.

The History of Plymouth Plantation by William Bradford, The Plymouth Colony Records and the Ancient Laws of Massachusetts Bay Colony,—all original sources furnish quite a complete history of the Pilgrims from their beginning at Scrooby in 1606, until Plymouth Colony was merged in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1691. In addition to these original sources, I am also indebted to many other writers and authors for much valuable information.

The Chapter on education and the influence of the Church in Colonial Virginia has been written because of so many references, generally disparaging, to these subjects by writers. By placing before readers conditions in both the Virginia and New England Colonies on these subjects, perhaps some erroneous and unjust impressions of Colonial Virginia may be corrected.

Chapter I

Protestantism in England

THE history of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cannot be found alone in the study of its civil and political life. You must, also, turn to the history of the Church and religion. In fact, the history of the Church is inseparably interwoven with that of the political life of the nation.

It cannot be claimed for religion that it, to any great degree, influenced or directed the spiritual life of the Rulers; but it did dominate their secular and political activities.

The Reformation found its way into England; the teachings of Wycliff and Calvin found lodgement in the hearts of the people. The Supremacy of the Pope and Church of Rome was seriously threatened. The Roman Church had not been content within the confines of a spiritual sphere. Its ambitions and activities carried it into the civil and political life of England. It had lost sight of the fact that its work was with the moral, the religious and spiritual side of humanity. It had forgotten the mission of the Saviour to the World; that the way to the heart of humanity was through the story of the sacrifices, sufferings and crucifixion of a Divine Christ.

The religious fervor and enthusiasm that had converted

pagan England, that had inspired the building of monasteries and cathedrals, had passed away and was only a memory.

The Roman Catholic Church had lost its Christ.

The Church, through its priesthood, had acquired vast bodies of land, and had built great monasteries and beautiful cathedrals; it had grown rich, powerful, cruel, and aggressive in England. The Pope aspired to shape the political destiny of the nation.

The spiritual head of the Church, he had also become the invisible Ruler of the temporal and political powers under many of the Rulers of England. These were the conditions when Henry the Eighth came to the English throne.

In 1534, Henry declared himself not only the temporal Ruler of England, but, also, supreme as the spiritual head of the Church and Clergy. No one has ever claimed for him that he was actuated by a high and holy purpose, or by any motive other than that a new face had caught his wandering fancy. His heart had never known the gentle and purifying influence of Christ. He was selfish, coarse, cruel, brutal and licentious. He was not a spiritual convert to a faith in a Divine Christ. The act of the King in declaring himself the spiritual head of the Church in England was neither religious nor spiritual; his motive was purely selfish, temporal, and political. The immediate cause of the deposition of the Pope was his refusal to allow Henry to divorce his Queen Katharine, a faithful wife, and a Catholic.

In 1534, Parliament passed an act confirming the King's

title as Supreme Head of the Church. In 1535, an Act was passed requiring the Priests to swear allegiance to the King "in derogation of the Pope's authority." Some Priests refused to take this oath, and were promptly beheaded; "From persecutors they suddenly sank into men trembling for their lives."

"The English Church was now hailed as Protestant."

By the will of the King, and through an Act of Parliament, the English Protestants became orthodox:—the adherents to the Church of Rome were now heretics, hunted, persecuted, and suffering the cruelties which they had formerly inflicted upon the Protestants.

It was not the purpose of the King to make changes in the Churches. Henry simply assumed the position as the spiritual, the Supreme Head of the Church, displacing the Pope. Nor did he make any changes either in the Clergy, except in those who refused to take the oath of Supremacy, or in the form of Church worship. The Protestants, however, soon began to desire a change in the form of worship and in the church service books, because the old service smacked too much of Popery. In 1548, the "First Book of Common Prayer" was adopted, providing a form of Church service. The Act of Uniformity required that the service of the Church should conform to this "First Book of Common Prayer."

In 1547, Henry the Eighth died, and his son Edward succeeded him on the throne of England. As Edward had been under Protestant influence, his short reign was Protestant.

In 1552, Parliament passed a second Act of Uniformity,

also an Act removing the ban on the marriage of Priests, and requiring laymen to attend common prayer on Sundays and holidays.

King Edward died in 1553, and Mary, the daughter of Henry the Eighth and his former wife Katharine, succeeded him. Mary, like her mother, Katharine of Aragon, was a Catholic.

A complete reversal of conditions, both religious and political, followed. Catholicism was again in the ascendancy in England; London alone remained true to Protestantism. Those Priests who had married "were driven from their churches, the new Prayer Book was set aside and the mass restored." The crowning blow to Protestantism was now dealt by Queen Mary. She married her cousin Philip of Catholic Spain. Her marriage was followed by a most bloody and cruel persecution of the Protestant "heretics." Through a Priest, brought from Catholic Spain, an attempt was made to introduce the inquisition with all its horrors, into England.

The Pope was again supreme; Protestantism was crushed.

In 1559, Queen Mary died, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn, succeeded her as Queen of England. She had been brought up under Protestant influences. Again was there a reversal of conditions, both religious and political, in England. Catholicism, and its religious and political adherents were dethroned; Protestantism was again ascendant. Queen Elizabeth became the Supreme Head of the Church—the spiritual as well as the temporal Ruler of England.

In 1559, Parliament passed Acts requiring every one to take an oath declaring that Elizabeth was the Supreme Head of the Church, and providing for uniformity of service in worship. Some changes were made in the "Book of Common Prayer" to conform to the wishes of Reformers in matter of service, but "the services prescribed in this Book of Common Prayer, and none other, were to be lawful." The Clergymen who adopted any other, even in private chapel, committed a crime. "Every one must go to church on Sunday and bide prayer and preaching." "The whole of the Clergy that had been Roman Catholic under Queen Mary, save two hundred, submitted to the Act of Supremacy and adopted the Prayer Book."

Now, that the Protestants felt safe under the protection of the Queen with their adherents in high places, dissensions and bitter controversies soon arose within their own ranks. These contentions and dissensions, mostly over non essentials and trivial matters, were scarcely less bitter than those between Protestants and Catholics. Green says of Queen Elizabeth, "No woman ever lived who was so totally destitute of the sentiment of religion." She could not understand, and took no part in the bitter theological controversies that raged around her, either between those in the Church or with the Roman Catholics. "The spiritual problems which were vexing the minds of those around her were not only unintelligible, they were ridiculous." Neither Protestant nor Catholic could understand this indifference of the Queen. The result was that religion, both in the Clergy and Laymen, became decadent.

The Protestant Clergy were becoming intolerable by

their violence and greed. They plundered the Church Estates; the wives of the Clergy began cutting up the gorgeous vestments of the old worship into gowns for themselves; "the old altars were broken down and the communion table was often a bare board upon trestles," and at least a third of the parishes were without Clergymen. Under these conditions the people soon "were found to be utterly devoid of religion." Elizabeth realized these conditions. She desired, most earnestly, tolerance in the church, and to bring peace and tranquility to a disturbed and distressed nation. She endeavored to correct the abuses of the Clergy; she stopped the plunder of the churches, and filled the vacant Sees with "learned and able men;" she wished the people to be won back to religion and the church for the good of the nation.

Religious peace was beginning to settle down upon England, when the Pope forbade the presence of Catholics at the new worship, "notwithstanding the laws requiring them to attend church on Sunday and abide prayer and preaching." Finally, Rome issued "a bull of excommunication and deposition against the Queen." England was again thrown into confusion and religious turmoil. The rebellious Catholics were ruthlessly pursued and punished by imprisonment and death. During her reign two hundred Catholic Priests were executed, and a greater number perished in filthy fever stricken jails.

Whatever may be said of the religious indifference or of the morals of "Good Queen Bess," she brought peace and prosperity to England. Her reign was the "Golden Age" of literature, refinement, prosperity, wealth, peace

at home, and splendor abroad. Roman Catholicism declined,—"England became firmly Protestant;" the Bible was open to all; everybody who could, from the noble to the peasant, read it, and to those who could not, it was read by others; men could be found reading it in public places to the crowds gathered around them. It profoundly affected the character and social life of the people; it stirred the moral and religious nature to its very depth; its influence was elevating, purifying and ennobling.

For the first time, the English people stood face to face with their Christ, and saw the beauty of his character and life. They caught a vision of the cross, of his death, of the resurrection and immortality.

Green says, that "a new conception of life and of man superceded the old." "A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class." It was not alone the moral and religious nature that was affected by the open Bible. The cultural and intellectual life of the people found inspiration in reading its pages. Only a few had a knowledge of the Classics of Greece and Rome, but the literature of the Bible was free and open to all; it was a store house filled with the richest literary treasures; it deeply influenced the intellectual life and work of the student, scholar and writer of the Elizabethan Age. The Bible from a literary standpoint, was the greatest of all influences that produced the "Golden Age of Literature" in England.

However, as the years went on apace they felt less and less the influence of the gospel of the New Testament; they lost the vision of the Christ; many became dissenters, and turned to the religion of the Old Testament; the

Mosaic laws became their guide and rule of life; the God of Moses became their God. The Puritan became the stern, gloomy fanatic of the seventeenth Century. All beauty excluded from his life, the tenderness and human sympathy gone from his heart, his life became "hard, rigid, stern and colorless."

The Reformers, feeling that Protestantism was in the ascendancy, and safe from Roman Catholicism and its persecution, soon began to sow the seeds of discord within the Established Church. The English Church became torn by dissensions, not over the fundamentals of religion, but over the form of worship, service and church government.

Many Protestants had fled from England to escape persecution under Queen Mary and Philip of Spain. They found refuge in Switzerland, where they fell under the influence of the teachings of Calvin and others of the Presbyterian faith. The English Church in matter of faith, largely accepted the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. But Calvin further taught that the form of worship should be of the simplest, and that everything that "savored of Popery" should be eliminated.

As the years went on many of the Reformers, both among the Clergy and Laymen, under the influence of Calvinism, claimed that too many of the ceremonies and services of the Popish regime were still retained; that abuses had crept into the Church. They objected to the images and to the crucifix, to the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, kneeling to receive the sacrament, the liturgy and the Book of

Common Prayer; they maintained that these were relics of Popery and should be abolished. "Some of the Clergy wore the habits, others laid them aside; some wore a square cap, some a round one, some a hat; some used the sign of the cross in baptism, some did not; communicants received the sacrament kneeling, sitting or standing, as the minister saw fit." The images were broken and the crucifix abandoned; there was no longer uniformity of service in the churches.

There was a body of Clerical bigots who were not content with abolishing the form of worship and church service. They proposed to establish in England a Church modeled on the Calvinistic plan, i. e., that each congregation had the right to organize its own Church, elect its own minister, and abolish all form and ceremony.

The most radical of these clericals was Thomas Cartwright, a scholarly and learned man, a Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. He had studied in Geneva under Calvin, and returned to England a fanatical bigot. He taught and preached against the form of worship and the ceremonies of the Established Church; he assailed the Episcopal form of Church government; he advocated the substitution of the Presbyterian form of government for that of the Established Church, viz:—that members of each church should select the minister, and adopt their own form of worship and church government; the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity passed by Parliament were to be ignored. This was a direct attack upon the Supremacy of Queen Elizabeth as the Head of the Church. He taught, preached and wrote "that the absolute rule of

the Presbyters was established by the word of God;" that all others "were to be ruthlessly put down"; "that heresy was to be punished by death"; that the Presbyterian Church was to be supreme even to the State. His teachings were abhorrent and seditious. He was obliged to flee to escape prosecution and imprisonment. He found refuge in the Netherlands, where he continued his seditious attacks upon the English Church and laws, both by pamphlet and preaching.

Some radicals, among the Clergy and some Laymen, adopted these views, but the great body of the people, though Presbyterian in faith, remained loyal to the Established Church. They believed that while reforms were necessary, yet the Church should be purified from within, and not by a separation. These intelligent and better classes had no thought of forming a separate Church. The Established Church had proven too great a blessing to the thinking people of England for them to desire a separation from it; it had saved them from Catholicism and its cruelties and evils.

The name "Puritan" was given to these reformers within the Church. It was, however, nearly half a century later that these Puritans withdrew from the Mother Church, and established an independent Church.

Chapter II

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN HOLLAND

IN ORDER to trace the history of the Pilgrim Fathers back to their origin, a brief outline of the religious conditions in Holland is here given.

The bitter war, which Catholic Spain had waged against the Netherlands, had failed to crush Protestantism there. The Netherlands had become the refuge and asylum of every sect bearing a religious label. Even their ancient enemy, the Roman Catholics, were tolerated. It mattered not how crude the creed, nor how fantastical, or fanatical their preaching or conduct; there they found toleration, liberty of conscience and freedom of worship.

Amsterdam had become "the Fair of all sects where all the Peddlers of Religion have leave to vend their toyes." Romanists, Jews, Calvinists, Armenians, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Quakers, Familists, Antinomians, and Separatists or Brownists, were at liberty to adopt any form of worship, or engage in any rite or practice in the name of religion, without interference from the State.

Holland has been called "a nest of unclean birds," so low and revolting were some of the rites and practices of some of these sects. A few illustrations will suffice to show these religious conditions.

The Antinomians denied that an elect person sinned,

even when committing acts in themselves gross and evil. They believed that the spiritual being is unaffected by action of matter; that carnal sin, at the worst, is only a form of bodily disease; that a child of God cannot sin, that the moral law is altogether abrogated as a rule of life."

The Familists were a sect founded by Henry Nicholas, the Apostle of "Service of Love." The charge was made that the sect denied the Divinity of Christ. Nicholas claimed that he was superior in that, "Moses only preached hope, Christ faith, but he preached love." He claimed inpeccability, and no charge against his morals was ever sustained. It was said, however, that some of his followers interpreted love "as license."

The Anabaptists first appeared in Wittenburg in 1521. This sect, through a depraved and fanatical leadership, practiced the lowest forms of vice in the name of religion. John Matthiszoon, a baker of Haarlem, became its chief prophet in Holland. He became obsessed with the fanatical idea that he was a second Gideon. He, with thirty followers, marched around the walled city of Muenster, blowing their horns, expecting the walls to fall. The walls failed to respond to the tooting of the horns, and Mattiszoon and his followers paid the penalty for their insane attempt to destroy the city with their lives.

John Boccold of Leyden, called John of Leiden, a tailor, was the chief disciple of Matthiszoon. He gathered around him a large fanatical following. They attacked and captured the city of Muenster, which he called New Zion. He declared that he was the successor of King

David; that, in a vision which he had received from heaven he and his people were commanded to live in this New Zion as King David and his people lived in Zion. He thereupon established himself in a palace and demanded that Royal honors should be paid him; he legalized polygamy and took fourteen wives himself, the "chief of whom was the beautiful widow of Matthiszoon." She was "called Queen and wore a golden crown."

The city soon became a scene of unbridled licentiousness, profligacy and murder. They "confiscated property, plundered churches, violated females and murdered men who refused to join their gang."

The City was besieged and captured by the Bishop of Muenster after a year's siege. During this siege, the people were reduced to the direst distress. It was said that even cannibalism was practiced. After the City was captured great numbers of the fanatical followers of Leiden were executed; others fled and sought refuge in the Netherlands. While these refugees abandoned some of the licentious practices and teachings of John of Leiden, yet on one occasion in Amsterdam seven men and five women, religious fanatics, rushed naked through the streets crying "woe, woe, woe; the wrath of God, the wrath of God." This public exhibition was, however, going too far; they were arrested and two of them were executed.

It was in this country of religious tolerance, that the Separatists found refuge when they fled from England.

In 1549, a body of these Anabaptists appeared in London. Later on, a number of them came from Holland to England as weavers in factories, and settled in Norwich.

They organized an Independent Church, selected their own minister and adopted a form of worhsip. They proclaimed the doctrine of no trinity of person, no infant baptism, no ritual, no conformity, and separation of Church and State. They declared "that Christ was only a holy prophet and not at all God; that he only taught the way to heaven." They adopted the Old Testament as their Bible and guide.

Chapter III

THE BROWNISTS OR SEPARATISTS

ROBERT BROWNE, one of the radical clergymen of the Established Church, was the first English clergyman to preach, openly on English soil, the extreme doctrine of separation of Church and State. About 1580, Browne went to Norwich, and took charge of an English congregation. He there found these Anabaptist weavers from Holland, and fell under the influence of their teachings. He soon began to preach and teach, to his English congregation, the Anabaptist's doctrines, i. e.:—that the State had no right to regulate the religion of the subjects; that the congregation should separate from the Church of England, adopt its own faith, form of worship, church government and elect its own minister. Many members of the English Church accepted his teachings, and abandoned the Established Church.

The authorities could not permit the teaching of these doctrines. Browne was guilty of treason to the Queen and the Church. He fled from England to escape arrest, and sought refuge in the Netherlands, where he organized an Independent Church. While in Holland, he wrote several books that were printed and sent to England. They were so revolutionary and seditious, that Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation against them.

Browne soon quarrelled with his congregation in Holland, and after two years returned to England, made his peace with the Mother Church, and was given a parish, which he served for forty years. "He has been called the Benedict Arnold of Ecclesiastical History."

Browne was the Founder of the religious body in England known as the Separatists or Brownists, based on the doctrines of the Anabaptists of Norwich. From this body sprang the Pilgrim Fathers who settled Plymouth.

Through the influence and preaching of Browne, other Separatist congregations sprang up in London, Gainsborough, Scrooby and in other parts of England. They gained many adherents among the lower classes. They were ignorant, fanatical, religious zealots. Bacon says of them "that they were a silly and base lot." They were the victims of leaders, who in nearly every instance, abandoned them after a few years.

Ignorance does not make for self control. Bigotry and fanaticism are intolerant of the restraints of law, no matter how necessary to the peace of the country. Some of these Separatists created disturbances by holding public meetings and preaching their doctrine in the streets of London. They claimed the right to worship wherever, and in any manner they pleased. They attacked the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Queen and the National Church.

"Good Queen Bess" had too great a hold upon the affections of the people for them to tolerate these public attacks. They had not forgotten the attempt to institute a Spanish inquisition under her Predecessor, Queen Mary;

they remembered that she had saved them from Roman Catholicism.

One of these public meetings is described as a "tumult in Fleet street raised by the disorderly preachments, prating and prattlings of a swarm of Separatists, in course of which one Separatist, when caught alone, was kicked so vehemently as if they meant to beat him in a jelly." These fanatical zealots mistook their preachments and extravagance of conduct for an expression of true piety and religious zeal.

Two men, John Copping, a shoemaker, and Elias Thacker, a tailor, were arrested and imprisoned for "violating the ecclesiastical law." It appears that they were treated kindly in their imprisonment; they were allowed to continue their efforts while in prison "to improve the spiritual condition" of their fellow prisoners without hindrance from the authorities. They were not content, however, but began distributing the seditious pamphlets and writings of Browne; this was treason. The two men were hanged as an example to prevent "the spread of this dangerous infection."

Some of the clergy of the Church and laymen denied the supremacy of the Queen and refused to conform, persistently defying the laws of England. Some were arrested and suffered the penalties of the law. The punishment of these radical clergy and laymen was often too severe; but they were not martyrs; they were only law breakers.

These Separatists were regarded by the great mass of English Protestants much as we regard some religious

fanatics of our day. Through their antics and extravagant conduct on the streets they had become a public nuisance. They were the "holy rollers" of the sixteenth century.

The Constitution of our United States provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Notwithstanding these wise provisions of our forefathers, both in Federal and State constitutions, to divorce religion from the State, and to guarantee to every man the right to worship God, both in form and in faith, according to the dictates of the individual conscience, yet many bodies, claiming to be religious, have sprung up, that have been obnoxious, either in their practices or doctrines, to our people, to the laws and to God.

The most notable instance has been the case of the Mormans. They were driven out of Missouri, even before Joseph Smith had his pretended revelation sanctioning polygamy, because of their extravagant and fanatical religious views. They went to Nauvoo, Illinois, where Smith claimed that he had received a revelation sanctioning polygamy, and where they began its practice. The people arose, killed Smith, and drove his followers out of the State. Under Brigham Young as their leader, they traveled in the middle of winter across the plains to Utah. Except for the leaders—Smith, Young and others, these Mormans were poor, uneducated, ignorant, superstitious and credulous. They had unquestioning faith in the pretended revelations of Smith and other leaders. These misguided, credulous souls were hunted down, driven from

place to place, and suffered poverty, cold, hunger and imprisonment. They claimed that, under the guarantees of our Federal and State constitutions and laws, they had the right to religious liberty and freedom; The Old Testament was their guide, and it sanctioned the practice of polygamy. Their religious doctrines and practices, both before and after the adoption of polygamy, were a menace to the peace, happiness, moral and religious welfare of our people. Though they claimed their treatment was persecution, yet we know that they were not martrys, but disturbers of the peace, and breakers of the moral and civil laws.

These Separatists, though moral and religious, were not martyrs. They were willful transgressors of the laws of England, which they invoked against the Catholics while claiming exemption therefrom for themselves. With the fanatical persistence of the ignorant, they insisted on suffering a self-imposed martyrdom, rather than obey the laws, even though the penalty was imprisonment and sometimes death.

The English Church had opened the "Sealed Book" to all people in England; it had a supreme and unquestioning faith in the Christ of this "Book." The Church believed and taught the truths of the Christian religion.

The reasons for this separation from the Established Church were not fundamental or vital. No question of faith, creed or theology was involved. It was simply a question of the form of worship and of church government.

Chapter IV

JAMES THE FIRST AND PROTESTANTISM

QUEEN ELIZABETH died in 1603.

At the time of her death, there were four different religious classes in England:—viz, the Catholics, the members of the Established Church who believed in the supremacy of the Queen and uniformity of church service, those members of the Established Church who believed in the supremacy of the Queen, but who opposed the services and ceremonies of the church, and the Brownists or Separatists.

James the First of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, succeeded Queen Elizabeth. Though his mother was a Roman Catholic, yet James had been brought up under Presbyterian influences in Scotland, and was of the Scottish Kirk. He believed in the divine right of Kings,—that he was both temporal and spiritual Head of the English Nation. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were rigidly enforced against the Catholics, notwithstanding the fact that his mother was a Catholic.

Those Puritans, who were loyal to the Established Church, believed and insisted that reforms were necessary in the church service, ceremonies, and Book of Common Prayer, and to correct the abuses in the ministry and in the Church Courts. After James' accession to the throne

a petition, signed by eight hundred clergymen, was presented to him asking for reforms in those matters. They did not ask for any change in the organization or government of the Church.

The King, finally, summoned a conference of Prelates and Puritan divines at Hampton Court. At this conference he denied their petition.

He would have no change in the Book of Common Prayer; they should conform or suffer the penalty. It was at this conference that the King said "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land." He regarded this petition, not only as an attack on his supremacy as Head of the Church, but, also, as an encroachment on his prerogatives and power as King. He lost the opportunity to reconcile the differences among the members of the Established Church. Had the King been more temperate in his treatment of these petitioners, had he been willing to compose the differences in the Church by granting some needed reforms, he would have immeasurably strengthened himself both as temporal and spiritual Ruler of England. He adopted, however, a coercive policy. A new set of Canons for the Church was adopted. "The sentence of excommunication was now thundered against the nonconformists." They were prohibited from affirming, "that the rights and ceremonies of the Church were erroneous, wicked or superstitious." or "that the Book of Common Prayer contained anything repugnant to the scriptures." They were forbidden to leave the "Communion of the Church or set up separate establishments." Thus both Catholics, Puritans and

Separatists were "put under one common ban." In a short time three hundred dissenting ministers "were silenced or deposed." Some were cast into prison and some fled to Holland.

James' loyalty and attachment to the Established Church and Protestantism was political rather than religious; he regarded the Church as the bulwark of the throne.

However despicable the character of James the First may have been, yet he was a scholarly man for the age in which he lived. To him must be given credit for the King James's version of the Bible. Objections had been made by some of the leading Puritans to the translation of the Bible then used. They proposed that a new translation should be made. To this proposition the Archbishop and Prelates of the Established Church objected. King James, notwithstanding their opposition, appointed a commission of fifty-four of the most learned men in England to make a new translation. They completed their work, and in 1611, gave to the world this incomparable version of the Bible.

This translation has given us a clearer perception, and a deeper insight into the spiritual character of the prophets, the leaders and the chosen people of God. It has revealed to us their deep longing to know God. Whether writing of the problems which so deeply affect man—of human conduct, of life or death, or of God, there is revealed a depth of thought, a beauty of expression and style, a "poetic and lofty imagery," that is unequaled. As Literature the King James's version of the Bible has lived, through these three centuries, pre-eminent.

The early Reformers and Puritans were not gloomy fanatics. They were mainly of the middle and professional classes, and of good social standing. They found pleasure in the beautiful; they loved and cultivated literature, poetry, "gravings, sculpture, music and all the liberal arts." Milton's father was a lover of music and was skilled on "lute and organ." Milton, the "Latin Secretary of the Commonwealth," was poet, musician and a lover of the beautiful.

The writers of that age were profoundly influenced and inspired by the literature of the Bible. As Puritanism spread to other classes, they became sour, narrow, austere, believing that the beautiful shut them out from God. The radical Puritans were "not men of letters," nor did they cultivate literature.

Macauley says that "as a body, the Roundheads had done their best to decry and ruin literature."

The laws of Supremacy and Uniformity were enacted for the suppression of Catholicism, and to save Protestantism; at that time only a united Protestantism could have survived in the land. Under these laws, Protestantism had grown strong, secure and supreme. The Brownists or Separatists and the non-conforming Puritans owed their religious existence to these laws. By their refusal to conform, they put themselves in the same class with the Roman Catholics,—under the ban of the laws of Supremacy and Uniformity.

Queen Elizabeth and King James have been charged with persecution in the enforcement of these laws. Three hundred years after, we know that the form of worship

or whether the clergy should wear the vestments, or a square, or round cap or hat, are trivial, and not fundamental. Those were perilous times. We don't realize that the throne of England was then involved; that the blessings of peace were best assured to the Nation by maintaining, with a firm hand, Queen Elizabeth and later King James, both as the temporal and spiritual Rulers of England.

Cartwright and the Separatists would have placed their Church above the State. Dissension, discord and schism would have weakened and jeopardized Protestantism. Had either the Roman Catholics, Cartwright or the Separatists succeeded, civil war with all its horrors, intensified by religious fanaticism, would have resulted. The outcome would not have been in doubt. Protestantism, jealous, controversial, intolerant, bigoted, fanatical, divided into many sects warring upon each other, would have fallen. Catholicism, united, bold, resourceful, able and powerful, would have won. The Pope and Rome would have again triumphed. England, politically, would have become Catholic.

However firmly, we may now believe in the doctrine of separation of Church and State, it was a dangerous one to preach during the period of transition from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism.

The House of Stuart was sympathetic toward Roman Catholicism. Nearly a half century of the follies, extravagancies, profligacy, sensuality, deceptions, intrigue and oppression of the Stuart Kings, was necessary to make English Protestantism strong enough to survive civil war.

The rigorous insistence of James the First on the observance of the laws of Uniformity, whatever his motive, was effective in suppressing Catholicism.

Puritanism grew and spread among the people until "Merrie England" was transformed into the stern, gloomy, Cromwellian Commonwealth. But Protestantism had become supreme. Civil war and the beheading of Charles the First in 1649, could not dethrone it.

The moral and religious effect upon the people of the "Open Bible" was to firmly establish a Protestant England.

Chapter V

THE BROWNISTS OR SEPARATISTS AT SCROOBY

IN the latter days of Queen Elizabeth, the Separatists had been practically suppressed and scattered. Browne's congregation at Norwich had disappeared. Some had joined the Anabaptists there, some returned to the English Church and others fled to Holland. There was, however, a congregation at Gainsborough, with John Smyth as pastor. The influence of Browne's teachings, however, still remained.

About 1600 or 1602, John Robinson, an English clergyman, who afterwards became a leader in the Separatist Church at Leyden, came to Norwich. He was appointed to St. Andrews, an English Church in Norwich. He preached in this Church for about four years. But he had fallen under the influence of the Separatist teachings; while preaching in, and receiving his living from the Established Church, he became a non-conformist and Separatist, and was suspended by the Bishop. Hearing of the Separatist congregation at Gainsborough he went there about 1604, and indentified himself with the movement. From that time until his death in Leyden in 1625, he devoted himself to teaching and preaching the Separatist doctrines.

William Brewster, who afterward became prominent

in the Plymouth Colony in New England, lived at Scrooby, a few miles distant from Gainsborough. He occupied the important position of manager, under the Queen, of the mail and post station at Scrooby on the great highway, having been appointed to the position about 1590. Prior to this time he had been at Court in the service of Sir William Davison, "Elizabeth's Great Secretary." As manager of the Post he occupied the "Ancient Manor-House," which belonged to the Archbishop of York. He was a member of the Established Church, but became interested in the Separatist movement, and joined the congregation at Gainsborough.

William Bradford, then a lad of eighteen years, living at Austerfield, a few miles distant, was, also, a member of the Gainsborough congregation. Bradford afterwards became Governor of Plymouth Colony.

In 1606, the congregation at Gainsborough divided into two "distinct bodys or churches." One body, under the leadership of John Smyth, went to Amsterdam, where he organized an independent Church. The other body went to Scrooby, where a Separatist Church was organized with Richard Clifton as pastor. John Robinson went with the body to Scrooby, and soon succeeded Clifton as pastor.

As early as 1603, William Brewster, though a member of the Established Church and occupying the official position as the Manager of the Post at Scrooby, was having the Separatists meet, in secret, in the Manor-House or barn—the property of the Archbishop. Here, the Scrooby congregation continued to meet and hold service in secret until they fled to Holland in 1607.

Bradford, who went with the congregation to Scrooby, says, "they ordinarily met at his (Brewster's) house on ye Lord's day ** and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them, to his great charge."

In order to obtain recruits to the Scrooby Church, Clifton and his successor,—Robinson, Brewster and William Bradford worked diligently among the ignorant laborers and peasants of the Established Church, and the poor families of the parish, to make converts to this Separatist Church. They proselyted, talked and preached against the forms and ceremonies of the Established Church; they said that the surplice, ring in marriage, sign of the cross in baptism and the images were superstitious and impious relics of Popery; that their use would consign the people to hell; that the King was not the spiritual Head of the Church; that the laws of Uniformity were unjust, and the punishment for failure to conform was cruel persecution. They were exhorted to accept the Old Testament as their guide, and to worship the pure gospel of the Bible as these leaders saw it.

This playing upon the prejudices, their hatred of Popery, and the religious fears of ignorant people, made non-Conformists of many. No writer has ever claimed them as converts from sin to a faith in Christ. They were only converts from the form of worship and church government of the Established Church to that of the Separatist Church. They abandoned the services of the Established Church; they refused to conform, and continued meeting in secret "in one place or another." Bradford says, they

were "watcht night and day," and some were "taken and clapt up in prison,—and ye most were faine to flie and to leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood."

In 1607, the Post was taken from Brewster, because of his recusancy, and a keeper loyal to the Established Church was put in his place. Brewster, while occupying a confidential position in the service of Sir William Davison, Secretary of State of Elizabeth, had visited Holland with the "Great Secretary." He then learned something of the religious freedom of the many sects in Holland. John Smyth had already taken a part of his Gainsborough congregation there. Robinson and Brewster now advised the Scrooby Separatists to flee to Holland.

Chapter VI

THE EXODUS

ROBINSON and Brewster could have done no greater wrong to these poor, ignorant, helpless English laborers and peasants than to influence them to abandon their homes in England, and, without means, go to a foreign country with new customs, an unknown language and a strange people.

Bradford says "it was much, ** being thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their lands and living, and all their friends and familiar acquaintance." ** "But to goe into a countrie they knew not, ** Where they must learn a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, ** subject to ye misseries of warr, it was by many thought an almost desperate adventure, a case intolerable and miserie worse than death, espetially, seeing that they were not acquainted with trads nor traffique, ** but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, and ye innocent trade of husbandry."

About one hundred of these separatist zealots were induced by Robinson to attempt to escape from England, and flee to Holland. Brewster, in the late summer of 1607, arranged with a ship master to take them from Boston in Lincolnshire, England, to Holland. The Scrooby Congregation was broken up; the remainder were

scattered, and many of them returned to the English Church.

In 1693, Parliament passed an Act banishing the Separatists. Some, thereupon conforming, remained in England, but many of them went to Holland. These refugees in Holland began publishing seditious pamphlets and books advocating Separatist doctrines, and attacking the Prelates and the Established Church. England was flooded with this seditious literature. Appeals were made by the English to the Dutch authorties to suppress these publications, but they refused to interfere. In the year 1389, an Act was passed, prohibiting emigration from England, except with a license. Archbishop Bancroft now determined to enforce this old law of 1389, which required a license to emigrate, and so prevent non-Conformists from going to Holland, and there publishing these seditious utterances and flooding England with them. A passport was now required of all who desired to leave the Kingdom, or travel abroad. All Masters of ships knew these emigration laws, and were required to observe them at regular ports before sailing.

Robinson and Brewster knew that passports would be required before the people would be allowed to sail from England. They determined to evade the laws and regulations of emigration. They therefore arranged to have the people evade the officers of the port, and go on board the ship, secretly, at a place other than the port. The people with their goods came to Boston, their regular port, and were taken on board "at a convenient place ** in ye night," but were discovered by the officers of the port.

Bradford says, they were betrayed to the officials by the "Maister." They were taken, "stripte of their money, books, and much other goods," and presented to "ye Magistrates, who used them courteously and shewed them what favor they could." The Magistrates could not, however, release them "until order came from Counsell table." After a month's imprisonment, the order for their release came and they were all "except 7 of ye principal dismissed and sent to ye places whence they came."

This statement, coming from Bradford, of the attempt to evade the laws and regulations of emigration by boarding the ship "at a convenient place in the night," their discovery, arrest and imprisonment, their courteous treatment at the hands of the magistrates, thcir release and return to the places from which they came, strips the story of the universal sentiment accorded it, and makes it an ordianry account of an attempt to avoid the laws of emigration. Instances, and many pathetic stories of distress and suffering, occur constantly in the enforcement of all, including our own, immigration laws. Some of the people, during the fall of 1607, escaped from England and went to Holland. Brewster was one of those retained in custody; he was punished for recusancy.

In 1608, a second attempt was made to escape from England. An arrangement was made with a Dutch Captain, whom they thought they could trust, to transport them to Holland. He was to take them on board his vessel at a point on the Humber river, "a good way distante from any town", in order to avoid the officers of

the port. The women and children were to be taken by a boat to the appointed place, while the men walked overland. They reached this place the day before the ship arrived. The boat, with the women and children on board, put into a "creeke hard by" to escape the rough sea. When the ship came the next morning, the men were taken on board, but because of the low tide, the boat in the "creeke" with women and children, was "fast and could not stir until about noone." While the women and children were being taken on board the ship, the master "espied a greate company ** with bills, and guns and other weapons, coming to take them." The Dutchman "waiged his anchor, hoysed sayles," and sailed away, leaving behind the remainder of the women and children and some of the men. These were taken, and "hurried from one justice to another" by the constables "until they were glad to be ridd of them ** upon any terms. " They were not imprisoned, but allowed to leave England, and, finally reached Amsterdam.

It is with the greatest sympathy that we view the arrest, humiliations, sufferings and distress of these misguided and deluded people. In the quiet of the remote country district around Scrooby, they had lived in content and peace in their English cottages. They were from the humbler walks of life, poor, yet with enough to supply their wants. Though ignorant and impressionable, yet they had an unquestioning faith in the verities of the religion of the New Testament taught by the Established Church. They were influenced to leave the Mother Church, and join this body of Separatists; they were

deluded into leaving their homes on English soil, where they had lived in content and happiness, for lives of hunted violators of the law. They suffered imprisonment, humilation and shame; they were exiled from their old home; they became refugees in a foreign country, with different people, customs and language; they endured the hardest kind of labor and the greatest poverty. In all of their distresses, trials and sorrows, they found no peace or balm for their wounded souls. They had been turned from the gentler influences of the New Testament to the austere tenets of the Old Testament. Their faith had been rooted in the genial soil of the New Testament through the Mother Church; they were now transplanted to the cold, hard, stern soil of the Old Testament and Puritanism.

The word Separatist meant, as Robison and Brewster taught, that these people had the right to withdraw from the Mother Church and meet as an independent congregation, select their own minister, and adopt their own form of worship. The preaching of these leaders was not of sin in their individual lives, but against a National Church and form of worship. They were not any more spiritual or purer in their lives as non-conformists than before their separation. Nor does the story of the Separatists either in Holland or in New England, manifest any spiritual elevation.

No change in creed, doctrine, practice or form of worship is of any value unless it raises man to a higher moral and spiritual plane. The weaning of these Separatists from the Mother Church did not produce this result in their lives.

We will not deify Robinson, Brewster and Bradford. who by playing upon the emotional and religious natures of these simple country folks, seduced them from the Mother Church, and subjected them to all of the miseries that followed them, both in Holland and New England.

Chapter VII

AMSTERDAM AND LEYDEN

THERE were two congregations of Separatists in Amsterdam before that one from Scrooby arrived. One of these came from London, in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson as their preachers. The other was the Gainsborough congregation, which came in 1606, with the Reverend John Smyth. The Congregation from, Scrooby, which arrived in the latter part of 1607, and 1608, with John Robinson as pastor, worshiped in Amsterdam with the Gainsborough Church for about one year. They were "so poor in some cases as to be dependent on the charity of Holland."

These three congregations of Separatists were religious zealots, and not of the type to give promise of peace or harmony in their church life. They were uneducated, save for a few leaders, intolerant, fanatical, intemperate and without self control, even in their own respective churches. These self-exiled Separatists in Amsterdam, deceived by their leaders, had deluded themselves into believing that their sacrifices and sufferings were from a truly religious motive; that they had been elevated to a higher religious plane. They were mistaken; their motive was, simply, the stubborn zeal of the blind, unreasoning

fanatic. These Scroobyites did not find their brother Separatists in Amsterdam, dwelling in peace and harmony as brothers in Christ. There were contentions and disagreements, not only between the Churches, but between members of the same congregation. Bradford confirms the statement of other writers as to the contentious character of these Amsterdam Separatists. He says of them, that after about a year they saw that Mr. John Smyth and "his companie was allready fallen into contention with ye church that was there before them," ** and "that ye flames were like to breake out in that Ancient Church itselfe, ** as afterward lamentably came to pass."

Mr. Robinson and others thought it best to remove "before they were in any way engaged with ye same."

Their contentions were very trifling, but magnified into sins and condemned as being contrary to the teachings of the Old Testament. The following is an illustration of the ridiculous character of their strifes. "Ye Ancient Church" —that is, the group from London under Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, had what is termed an "old clothes controversy." The Church was in a turmoil over the apparel worn by the wife of their pastor, Francis Johnson. They protested against "her gold rings, her busk, her whalebones, ** and her schowish hat." "Many of ye saints were grieved" by these unsuitable garments. The pastor's wife "became very peert and coppet" at these complaints. So the war waged hot between the members of the congregation over this "old clothes controversy."

John Smyth soon left his congregation, became a Baptist

and founded a Baptist Church in Amsterdam. This Church he, also, abandoned, and returned to London in 1611 or 1612. The London and Gainsborough congregations, distracted by their internal dissensions and religious strife, and deserted by their pastors, became scattered and disappeared altogether.

Because of the quarrels and strife in the Amsterdam Church, the Scrooby congregation, consisting of about one hundred persons, with John Robinson as their pastor, after living in Amsterdam one year, left there and moved to Leyden.

They did not find Leyden a haven of rest and religious peace. They were from the country where they knew only "ye innocent trade of husbandry." They were unaccustomed to life in a city. Poverty and the hardest kind of manual labor became their portion; they worked in breweries, brick yards and factories; some became coopers, weavers and dyers. In order to keep the wolf from the door the boys and girls at the earliest age had to be set to work. Bradford says, however, that "at length they came to raise a competente and comfortable living, but with hard and continual labor." Others came to them from England and other places until they had a congregation of about three hundred members.

Bradford says that "they lived together in peace, in love and holiness." Notwithstanding this statement, we find that these Leyden Separatists were of the same narrow type as those in Amsterdam. Controversies, contentions and disagreements arose and "offences broke out." If they could not be composed, "ye church was purged of

those that were incurable or incorrigible." This process of purging the church was causing the loss of many members. It became a question as to whether or not they "could continue to hold together." These Separatists were temperamentally unable to agree, either with those within or without their own Church. They had no deep religious convictions,—they were merely fanatics.

When the Scrooby congregation decided to go to Leyden, they applied to the authorities for permission to settle there. Their petition was granted them to come and make this fair and "beautiful citie" their home on condition "that such persons behaved themselves and submit to the laws and ordinances."

They were, however, temperamentally unable to refrain from active participation in the religious wars between the sects in Leyden.

The Separatists were intense Calvinists. They took part in the controversies between the Calvinists and Armenians—the most bitter of the religious disputes which raged in Leyden. On coming to Leyden their pastor, Mr. Robinson, championed the cause of Calvinism so successfully that he with the help of the Lord "did so foyle his adversarie" as to put him to apparent nonplus." The feeling between the two sects became so bitter that their adherents engaged in battles in the public streets. The Calvinists of the city attacked the Armenians, who barricaded and entrenched themselves in a "kind of fort" in the street.

Robinson, Brewster and their followers were not only disturbers of the peace in the city of Leyden; they, also,

engaged in matters which were likely to disturb the friendly relations between Holland and England.

After the establishment of the censorship in England, which prevented the printing of the seditious books and pamphlets of Cartwright and Browne, the writers of seditious literature resorted to the plan of sending their manuscripts to Holland, having them printed there, and then smuggling the books and pamphlets into England, and flooding the country with them.

William Brewster taught English to the Dutch for a time, and afterwards learned the printer's trade. He afterwards entered into a partnership with one Thomas Brewer to engage in the printing business in Leyden. Brewer furnished the money for the business, and Brewster did the work of printing. At least sixteen seditious books, attacking the Established Church and the supremacy of the King of England, were printed by Brewer and Brewster during the years 1617, 1618, and 1619. The work of printing one of these books "David Calderwood's Perth Assembly" was done by Brewster. After printing these books, Brewster smuggled them into England, where they were secretly scattered abroad by the Separatists.

"Calderwood's Perth Assembly" was a direct attack on King James the First, charging him with "political, chicanery" in attempting to compel the Scottish Churches to conform. The Netherland government believed in the liberty of the press. So long as an author did not assail private character, nor offend public morals, his opinion on politics or religion did not concern the government.

Though England had appealed to the Dutch authorities to suppress the printing of books assailing the Established Church and its doctrines, yet their appeals were denied on the ground that they were neither attacks against private character, nor did they offend public morals. This book "Calderwood's Perth Assembly," however, assailed the private character of the King. The printing of the book, and smuggling it into England by Brewster was a breach of Dutch laws.

Brewster never seemed to appreciate, either in England or in the Netherlands in which he had found sanctuary on fleeing from England, that any duty devolved on him to observe the laws of either country. He was now obliged to flee from Holland to escape prosecution by the Dutch authorities for printing this book attacking the private character of King James. William Brewster was not the object of "persecution," but of just and proper prosecution for a willful offense against the laws of Holland.

The records made by the Separatists in Leyden are evidence of the fact that they did not "behave themselves" in Leyden. Evidently, they were unpopular, if not obnoxious to the Leydenites, for Bradford says that upon a rumor of their removal from Holland some "cast out slanders against them, as if that State had been wearie of them." He says, however, that such charges were "untrue and slanderous." It became apparant after a few years that, for many reasons, it would be better for them to leave Holland.

Chapter VIII

DECISION TO EMIGRATE TO THE NEW WORLD

THERE were many reasons which made it seem necessary that they should leave Holland. They were losing hold upon their children as they grew up. Some married into Dutch families; the boys were becoming soldiers or going to sea; the sports, games, licentiousness and white lights of the Dutch city lured many from the Church. The discords, schisms and strifes, within and without the Church, were tending toward disintegration; members began falling away or were expelled from the Church. The leaders saw "that within a few more years they would be in danger to scatter." Their predictions were correct. After the death of pastor Robinson in 1625, the members of the Church scattered, and entirely disappeared as an independent congregation, and "all trace of these Scrooby exiles" was lost.

Another very serious danger threatened them. In 1609, the Netherlands and Spain, after thirty years of the most bloody and relentless war, agreed upon a truce for twelve years. This truce would expire in 1621, when there was every reason to believe that the war would be renewed, bringing all of its horrors to the people living in Holland. The conditions, therefore, both within and without the Church, were so unsettled, disturbed and dangerous that "those

Prudent Governours"—Robinson, Brewster and Bradford, "begane both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, and wisely to forsee ye future, and think of timely remedy." They concluded, therefore, that it was best to remove to some other place.

For a number of years many in England and Holland, had been emigrating and establishing colonies in the New World. Fabulous stories were told of gold, silver and riches found in America by the Spaniards. In 1607, a Colony from England had settled in Virginia. It had grown, was prospering, and by 1619, had become well established. Their thoughts turned, therefore, to "some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fitt for habitation."

When "those Prudent Governours" made public the proposition to emigrate to America, there was great opposition to it. The "perils and dangers" were too great; the long and perilous sea voyage, the fear of famine and want, and grievous diseases "from change of air, diate and drinking of water," dangers from the cruel, barbarous and "most treacherous savages," the great sums of money that would be required "to furnish such a voiage and fit them with necessaries" and the reports of failures of some colonies that had already gone, were urged against the proposition. The "Prudent Governours" responded that many of these things which they feared "might never befale," and others by "provident care" might in a great measure be prevented.

It was further urged that they lived here "as men in exile, and in a poor condition, and as great miseries

might befale them in this place;" that "the 12 years of truce were now out and there was nothing but beating of drumes, and preparing for war;" that "ye Spaniard might prove as cruel as the salvages of America, and ye famine and pestilence as sore hear as ther." The dangers of remaining in Leyden might prove greater than those of emigrating to America; finally, a majority was won over to "put this design in execution."

Their deliberations were then turned to the selection of a place to go. Among the places discussed was Virginia, "where ye English had already made entrance and beginning." The objection was raised that Virginia was settled by Englishmen and was under the English Government; that if they settled there they might be "persecuted for the cause of religion." The answer to this was, *that they would there be under the protection of England*, and that if they lived "too far off, they should neither have succor nor defense from them," that they would "sue to his Majesty *** to grant them freedom of religion."

Virginia was finally selected as the most desirable. They decided, however, to locate their colony in some remote part of Virginia territory, and to live there as a "distincte body by themselves;" but "under ye general government of Virginia," under the protection of the English government.

Chapter IX

PATENT OBTAINED TO LAND IN VIRGINIA AND CONTRACT WITH THE MERCHANTS

ON April 10, 1606, King James the First granted letters patent, for the settlement of America, to two companies. One grant was to Sir Thomas Gates and others, known as the The London Company, and was for territory called Virginia, between 34 and 41 degrees of latitude. The northern boundary of this grant was above Manhattan Island, which was then occupied by the Dutch. The other grant was to Sir George Popham and others, known as The Plymouth Company, covering territory, which was later called New England, between latitudes 38 and 44. While these grants overlapped, yet there was a provision for a neutral zone. Neither Company should make any settlement nearer than one hundred miles to the one made by the other Company.

The Plymouth Company, however, did not succeed in establishing any colony in New England territory, and finally, abandoned its grant. In 1607, the first permanent English settlement in America, was established at Jamestown, Virginia, under The London Company sometimes called The Virginia Company. Many colonists followed, establishing settlements or plantations on both sides of the James River from Old Point Comfort to Henrico near

the present site of Richmond, and, also, on the eastern shore of Virginia. By 1620, these Colonies were well established; the colonists were living under a reign of law; courts had been organized, and men had the right of trial by a jury of their Peers, and a legislative body elected by the people.

In 1619, Sir George Yeardly returned to Jamestown as Governor, under an appointment by the King, bringing with him instructions providing for a legislative body for the Colony, composed of two members from each plantation, to be elected by a vote of the people. There were eleven plantations in the Colony. An election was held, and two members were elected from each plantation to the General Assembly. On July 30, 1619, the first legislative body elected by a vote of the people in the New World convened at Jamestown.

These Virginia Colonists, before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, were enjoying the privileges, benefits and blessings of an organized, representative government, with religion and the Church as its chief cornerstone; they were living in a reign of law, under the protection of the English flag. At Jamestown, on the banks of the James River was "laid the foundation of representative Government" in this country. The seed of democracy was first planted in the soil of Virginia, and not on the rock bound coast of New England.

After due deliberation, John Robinson, William Brewster, William Bradford, and other leaders of the Leyden Separatists, decided to emigrate to Virginia, notwithstanding the fact that Virginia was an English Colony

ruled by a King who was both temporal and spiritual Head of the English Nation and its Colonies. They would be living there under a government where they would have the right to "succor and defense," even though they would be subject to the laws of Uniformity and Supremacy. They had the hope that, through influential friends, "his Majestie might grant them freedom of religion." The King, however, refused this request. The best he would say was that he would "not molest them provided they carried themselves peaceably, ** but to allow or tolerate them by his publicke authoritie under his seal, they found it could not be."

They now sent their agents, John Carver and Robert Cushman, to London to procure a patent from The London Company to settle in Virignia "on the best terms obtainable." John Carver and Robert Cushman were not members of the Scrooby congregation in England. Carver had come to Holland, married a sister of John Robinson, and joined the congregation in Leyden. John Robinson and William Brewster gave to their agents, Carver and Cushman, a written statement signed by them in order to induce the London Company to grant them a patent. This statement was entirely inconsistent with their doctrines as Separatists; it was a recognition of the Established Church and of the King as spiritual Head of the Church. This statement is substantially as follows:—

"1. To the confession of faith published in the name of the Church of England, and to every article thereof, we do with the reformed churches where we live, and, also, elsewhere, assent wholly.

"2. Acknowledging the doctrine of faith there taught ** we will practise in our parts all lawful things.

"3. The King's Majesty we acknowledge for supreme Governor in his dominion in all causes and over all persons, ** that in all things obedience is due unto him, either active, if the thing commanded be not against God's word, or passive, if it be, except pardon can be obtained.

"4. We judge it lawful for his Majesty to appoint bishops, civil overseers, or officers in authority under him, in the several provinces, dioceses, congregations or parishes, to oversee the churches and govern them civilly according to the laws of the land. **

"5. The authority of the present bishops in the land we do acknowledge, so far as the same is derived from his Majesty."

Sir Edwin Sandys, Treasurer of The London Company, wrote to Robinson and Brewster, that the writing "subscribed with your names," has given "a good degree of satisfaction," but the Council desired further time to consider the petition. Bradford says, that some "unjust insinuations were made against us," evidently touching ecclesiastical matters, and their practices in the Separatist Church, which the Council desired explained. When these "insinuations" were reported to Robinson and Brewster, they replied that they were substantially in accord with "the French reformed churches according to their public confession of faith," (which was in accord with that of the Established Church), that "the oath of supremacie we shall willingly take if it be required of us."

That they were willing to take the oath of "supremacie," was an acknowledgment of the King as the spiritual Head of the Church, yet they became voluntary exiles from their native land, because they had refused to recognize the spiritual supremacy of the King; that they were now willing to acknowledge his supremacy confirms the fact that their emigration to the New World was not for religious freedom, but purely economic.

After many delays, and at the cost of much "labor and charge," The London Company granted them a patent for a settlement in Virginia. In fact, The London Company was the only source from which they could obtain a patent to land in the English part of the New World, and they could not emigrate without a patent. By the advice of some friends this patent was taken in the name of John Wincob, a "religious gentleman of the county of Lincoln, who intended to go with them;" but when they were ready to sail he refused to go. As we shall see later, though sailing under the authority of this patent, yet they never made use of it.

After this patent was obtained, it was found that a large sum of money would be required to obtain ships and furnish supplies for the voyage, and for their support after arriving in Virginia. These people were poor and without means; it was necessary for them to find parties who would finance the expedition. After negotiations with various parties, an agreement was made with Mr. Thomas Weston and other merchants, called the "Adventurers," in London to furnish the money and make "provisions both for shipping and other things for the voyage."

The following are substantially the terms of the agreement between the Merchant Adventurers and the Colonists, called "Planters."

1. Every person that "goeth being aged sixteen years and upwards" was rated at ten pounds.

2. If the planter going also furnished ten pounds in money or other provision, he was to be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock.

3. The planters going and "the adventurers were to continue their joint stock partnership for seven years, "during which time all profits and benefits that are gott by trade, traffick, trucking, working, fishing or any other means," were to remain in one common stock until the division.

4. Some were to engage in fishing, and the rest in building houses, tilling, planting ye ground, and making such commodities as should be most useful for "ye Collonie."

5. At the end of seven years the capital and profits, i. e.—houses, lands, goods and chattels were to be equally divided between the Adventurers and the Planters.

7. A person carrying wife and children or servants, was to be allowed for every person, age sixteen years and upwards, a single share, or if between ten and sixteen years old, then two of them were to be reckoned a person.

8. That children under ten years were to have no share in the division, but fifty acres of unmanured land.

*****

10. That all Colonists were to have "meat, drink and apparel, and all provisions out of the common stock and goods of the Colony."

There was much opposition to the terms of this contract on the part of Mr. Robinson and others, although they were, finally, accepted. The terms were, that the Adventurers should furnish the money for the shipping, supplies, and, also, for subsistence after the Colonists arrived in the New World. The Planters were to have their meat, drink, apparel and all provisions, in fact, their entire living and support out of the common stock; at the end of seven years all profits made from all sources, including the land acquired, and all property were to be divided equally,—the Adventurers to have one half, and the Planters the other half thereof.

This Community plan did not tend to promote the best interests of the Colonists. It was, however, substantially the same plan, both as to terms and length of time, that was made between the Virginia Company and the Colonists that settled at Jamestown. As subsequent events proved, the Adventurers received no profits, but suffered a heavy loss. The advantage was all on the side of the Planters for they received their transportation, provisions on the voyage, and their living for seven years. At the final settlement the Adventurers did not receive back even the money invested by them, while the settlers retained all the property, all improvements, houses and lands, that had accumulated or been acquired during the said term of seven years.

Chapter X

THE DEPARTURE

HAVING obtained their patent to plant their Colony in Virginia territory, and their agreement, dated July 1, 1620, with Thomas Weston and other merchants to furnish the money for the enterprise, plans were made, supplies provided and ships engaged for the voyage. These supplies included five cannon, guns and munitions, and a military commander, Captain Miles Standish, for the Colony.

There were about three hundred members of the Leyden congregation at this time, but only one hundred and fifty had expressed a willingness to emigrate. Some Separatists from Amsterdam had expressed a desire to join them, but as the time for departure drew nigh they decided not to emigrate. Robert Cushman, in a letter, says "as for them of Amsterdam I had thought they would as soone have gone to Rome as with us, for our libertie is to them as ratts bane, and their riggour as bad to us as ye Spanish Inquisition." The religious liberty and the association with the gaiety and pleasures of this "beautiful citie," with its manifold temptations, had weaned these Leyden Separatists from the stern and rigorous religious views they had formerly entertained. When it came to the crucial point of departure only thirty-three emigrated

from Leyden. They had religious freedom in Leyden, then why go to the wilds of the New World to obtain it?

William Brewster and William Bradford were the only known members from the original congregation at Scrooby who came in the Mayflower to New England. The little vessel, Speedwell with thirty-three passengers sailed on August 1, 1620, from Delft Haven for Southampton. They were joined at Southampton by the Mayflower, with a company of emigrants from London. Many of these were men whom the Merchant Adventurers had induced to go. Among them were some "undesirables." William Brewster, who had fled from Holland to escape prosecution, with his wife and two children, Love and Wrastling, joined the expedition at Southampton.

The Speedwell was a small ship and only twenty were allotted to go in her and one hundred in the Mayflower. On August 6, 1620, the ships, Speedwell and Mayflower, sailed from Southampton for the New World. The Speedwell, after two successive attempts to proceed was found to be unseaworthy. It was, finally decided that those who desired to return together with some of the children and weaker ones should be taken back in the Speedwell, and the remainder should sail in the Mayflower. On September 6, 1620, the Mayflower sailed with one hundred emigrants on board including men, women and children. Two children were born during the voyage,—one to Stephen Hopkins and his wife Elizabeth, whom they called "Oceanus." Of these, thirty-three were from Leyden and sixty-seven were from England. Of the thirty-three who came from Leyden, about twelve were

men, six women, five named as servants and ten children; some of these were not members of the Separatists congregation; some of the women were Dutch, whom the young men had married in Leyden. Captain Miles Standish and his wife, Rose, were English, but not Separatists, although living in Leyden. He had been a soldier in Holland in the war with Spain, and joined them from a love of adventure as the fighting man of the Colony.

Bradford called those sailing from Delft Haven in the Speedwell, "Pilgrimes." From this incident all of those who sailed in the Mayflower, although there were many "undesirables" from London, have been called "Pilgrim Fathers." William Brewster and William Bradford, however, were the only Pilgrims from Scrooby.

The term "Pilgrims" and "Puritans" have often been erroneously and indiscriminately applied to all early colonists in New England. The "Pilgrims" were Separatists, who withdrew from the Mother Church. The "Puritans" originally advocated reforms, but not a separation from the Established Church. The Pilgrims established Plymouth Colony in 1620, The Puritans planted the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630.

The remainder of the Leyden congregation, numbering about two hundred and seventy persons, and their pastor, William Robinson, were satisfied with the religious freedom which they enjoyed in that "goodly and pleasante citie." Those from Holland who sailed in the Mayflower were nearly all young people who had always enjoyed liberty of conscience and religious freedom. Of all those both from Holland and England, there were only two over

fifty years of age and forty-nine over forty, the remainder were young people. William Brewster was over sixty years old, Bradford thirty-one, Edward Winslow twenty-five, Isaac Allerton thirty-two, Miles Standish twenty-six and John Alden twenty-one. John Alden was a Cooper, who emigrated from Southampton, England. He was not one of the "Pilgrims."

Chapter XI

MOTIVE FOR EMIGRATING

WE have for centuries idealized the Pilgrim Fathers as men who, braving the dangers of the sea, came to a wilderness inhabited by wild beasts and cruel savages, and suffered cold, hunger, privation and death for conscience sake.

Poets and novelists have sung their praises, artists have put on canvas pictures portraying the sufferings of these emigrant Separatists, sculptors have carved in imperishable marble heroic figures of the Pilgrim Fathers, and historians have ascribed to them all the virtues of men who suffered for a religious principle.

What were the motives that induced these Separatists to emigrate to America? Were these motives religious, or only economic?

We glean from Bradford's History,—the original source, the real reasons why they left Holland and came to America. In the 4th chapter entitled "Showing ye reasons and causes of their removal," he says, "There were sundrie weightie and solid reasons" for the removal.

First. That because of the "hardnes of ye place and countrie," many that came to them could not endure "the great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences."

Secondly. That "old age began to steale on many of them ** that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter by necessities pressing them, or sink under their burden."

He, evidently, had in mind the ending of the truce in 1621, between Spain and the Netherlands; that war would then be renewed, and they would be subjected to all its cruelties and horrors; that their sons would be obliged to fight in defense of their adopted country; in fact, even now "some became soldiers;" that, as heretics, if Spain was victorious, these Separatists would go to the block and stake. At that time this seemed to be a real menace threatening them. Under these dismal and gloomy forebodings Bradford says, "and, therefore, according to ye divine proverb, that a wise man seeth ye plague when it cometh, and hideth himselfe, Pro. 22-3, so they skillful and beaten soldiers were fearful either to be entrappep or surrounded by their enemies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flie, ** and therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger."

Thirdly. That their children were "oppressed with their heavie labor" so that their "bodies bowed under ye weight of ye same, and became decreped in their early youth. *** But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorrowes most heavie to be borne, was that many of their children," because of "ye great licentiousness of youth in that countrie" and many "temptations," were entering upon "extravagant and

dangerous courses getting ye raines off their neks and departing from their parents *** tending to dissolutenes and danger of their soules."

Lastly. "A great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation," ** "for ye propagating and advancing ye gospel of ye Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of ye world."

The above are the reasons for the emigration of the Leyden Separatists to America given by William Bradford, who followed the fortunes of the Scrooby Separatists in all their wanderings from England until they landed at Plymouth. He then became Governor of Plymouth, which position he occupied, with the exception of five years, until 1649. All of the reasons given by him for emigrating are solely econmic, save the last one, in which he says they had a hope that they might do something for "propogating and advancing" the gospel of Christ. As we shall subsequently see they made no effort, nor did they accomplish anything in the propagation or advancement of the cause of religion in the New World. He does not claim that they sought a home in the New World in order that they might have "religious freedom." There is not one word in all the reasons given by Bradford charging that they suffered persecution, or did not have entire religious freedom, liberty of conscience, and independence in Church government in Holland; on the contrary, they enjoyed all these privileges to the fullest extent.

The "Prudent Governors" and leading spirits who originated the plan of planting a Colony of Separatists

in America were John Robinson, his brother-in-law, John Carver, William Brewster, William Bradford and Edward Winslow. They failed in their efforts to induce the Leyden congregation to emigrate. Only a very small number of individual members, as we have shown above, could be prevailed upon to leave Leyden, It is known, for a certainty, that only a few of those from London were Separatists. We do know that many were not, and that among these "Pilgrim Fathers" were some "undesirables." Pastor Robinson declined to go when he discovered that the Leyden congregation refused to emigrate.

What then was the motive of Brewster, Carver and Bradford for planting this Colony in the New World? We can understand Brewster's purpose; he could neither live in Holland nor in England for fear of prosecution because of his seditious utterances and publications; he desired an asylum across the sea where he would be free from prosecution. Carver had been a man of means and affairs; he had never suffered religious persecution, as he had become a member of the Separatist congregation in Leyden. Bradford was young and ambitious for leadership as subsequent events proved.

Men of prominence, many of them of the nobility in England and Holland, had been organizing and planting Colonies in the New World,—going over themselves as Rulers and Governors. The position as Rulers, as well as the opportunity for gain, appealed to them. The same ambitious motives, mainly influenced Carver, Bradford, Brewster and Winslow. In the face of obstacles, discouragement, and final refusal of nearly the entire Leyden

congregation to emigrate, these men for nearly three years persistently continued their efforts to organize and establish a Colony in America.

A close study of Bradford's "History of Plimoth Plantation" shows that these master minds of the Separatists congregation in Leyden had deeper plans than to provide for the spiritual welfare of their people. Their purpose was to go to some place under the protection of the general government of England, yet remote from any local authority, and there organize a government of which they would be both civil and spiritual Rulers. Bradford says, as to their purpose, that "the place they had thoughts on was some of those vast tracts and unpeopled countries of America ** being devoid of all civil inhabitants." They found, however, that in order to plant a Colony in America, they would have to obtain a patent, either from the London or Plymouth Companies. The Plymouth Company had not succeeded in establishing any Colony within its territory, New England, and, finally surrendered its grant. The London or Virginia Company was the only source from which they could obtain a patent. They, therefore, obtained their patent from the London Company to settle in Virginia. They did not intend to live "among ye English which were there planted, or so near them as to be under their local government," but "to live as a distincte body by themselves under ye general government of Virginia."

Their patent has been lost, but it is known that it was granted in 1619, and was for land in the northern part of the Virginia grant on the Hudson river, and near the Dutch

settlement on Manhattan Island. This was as far removed, as possible, from the settlements made in Virginia territory on the James River and Chesapeake Bay; they would there be under the general government, but too far away to be molested, either in their ecclesiastical or civil government.

After the patent had been granted, the contract made with the Adventurers, and those going had sold their goods and estates, "put their money into one common stock," and were ready to sail from Southampton, they heard from Mr. Weston and others about New England, "unto which Mr. Weston, and ye cheefe of them, begane to incline it was best for them to goe," ** as there was "hope of present profite to be made by ye fishing that was found in that countrie." They, however, had no patent to land in New England territory; furthermore there were those "would adventure nothing except they went to Virginia." There were several from England, namely,—Isaac Allerton, Stephen Hopkins, Christopher Martin and others, who had already been in Virginia and owned property there. When the Mayflower sailed, the emigrants understood "that they were bound for Virginia," whatever may have been the secret intentions of the leaders, Carver, Bradford and Brewster.

These men, Carver, Bradford, Brewster and some other leaders made all their plans before leaving Holland to set up a civil government of their own in America. This is clearly shown by a letter written by Pastor Robinson just before the Speedwell sailed from Delft Haven. This was a letter of good advice and exhortation to those

members of his congregation who were emigrating concerning both their spiritual and temporal welfare. He knew that most of the emigrants were strangers to each other and to his Church, and he exhorted care in dealing with them. Among other things, referring to the civil government which the leaders had planned to establish, he said "*your intended course of civil communitie* will minister continual occasion of offense."

"Lastly, whereas you are become a body politik, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of spetial eminence above ye rest, to be chosen by you into office of government," ** that you must yield obedience to them, "because you are at least for ye present to have only them for your ordinaire governors, which yourselves shall make choyse of for that work." Mr. Robinson wrote this letter with full knowledge of a secret instrument or "compact," hereinafter set out, prepared before leaving Holland, providing for this civil government, which was presented to the Mayflower passengers for signature and signed by most of them in the cabin of the ship before landing at Cape Cod. The conclusion is irresistible, that these leaders were not induced to seek a home in America, in order that these Separatists might find "religious freedom," but that they might plant a Colony over which they should be leaders and governors.

Chapter XII

THE COMPACT

ON September 6, 1620, the Mayflower, with those who were still willing to emigrate, sailed, ostensibly, for some point on the Hudson River within Virginia territory, but, in fact, sailed directly for Cape Cod. Bradford says that on November 9th, 1620, "after long beating at sea they fell in with that land called Cape Cod, the which being made and certainly known to be it, *they were not a little joyfull.*" Cape Cod was known to Carver and the other leaders through Captain John Smith, who was there in 1614, and had made a survey and map of the coast, calling the country "New England."

Writers have, generally, accepted as a fact that the the Mayflower was driven out of her course by storms, and therefore, the land first sighted was Cape Cod. This is a mistake, for Bradford nowhere claims that the ship was driven from Virginia to Cape Cod by storms; on the contrary, they were evidently on the lookout for Cape Cod, and sighting and recognizing it "they were not a little joyfull." Some of the sailors had been on this coast with Captain John Smith. It was, in fact, the secret destination of the leaders. Cape Cod was not, however, near the Hudson River in Virginia territory, the place where the passengers understood they were to settle.

They did not land at Cape Cod at this time. Bradford says "After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with ye master of ye ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for ye southward, ** to find some place about Hudson river for their habitation." He further says, that after sailing "about halfe ye day they fell amongst dangerous sholds and roring breakers, ** and ye wind shrinking upon them with all," that is, they were becalmed, "they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape," which they did, arriving there "before night overtook them." Had they in good faith desired to reach a point on the Hudson River north of Manhattan Island, the master of the ship, a skilled navigator, would not have skirted the shore amidst shoals and breakers. He would have sailed out into the safe waters of the ocean. With their little vessel, they were scarcely out of sight of Cape Cod, before they tacked about and returned there. "The next morning they got into ye Cape Harbor wher they ridd in saftie."

The suggestion has been made by writers, that the Mayflower turned about and sailed back to Cape Cod because the Captain had been bribed by the Dutch not to land the Colonists near the Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island. There is no evidence whatever to support this suggestion. The Captain of the Mayflower sailed from London, and not from Holland, consequently, he was not in touch with the Dutch authorities. The most convincing proof against this suggestion, is the conduct of Carver, Brewster, Bradford and Winslow. Neither Bradford, nor Winslow, who, also, wrote a history of the

voyage and settlement in New England, wrote of any objection by any of the leaders, or show any concern themselves over the return of the ship to Cape Cod. On the contrary, there is evidence that Carver and the other leaders were responsible for this return to Cape Cod. Bradford says, "as they conceived themselves in great danger, ** they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape." It was no less dangerous to sail away from the shore and the breakers, and on to the Hudson River than back to Cape Cod.

There were several reasons for this change in their plans. The representation of Mr. Weston before they sailed, that the "hope of present profit to be made by ye fishing that was found in that countrie," i. e. New England, was one of the inducements that caused them to return to Cape Cod. There were, however, other reasons more weighty; they thought that if they settled in New England, they could organize a civil government free from the control of the general territorial government of Virginia, and could establish and maintain their Independent Church without fear of the authorities of the Established Church.

After arriving in the harbor at Cape Cod, the "cheefe" men began to talk of landing to "look out a place of habitation." These "Cheefe" men had decided to establish the Colony in New England, without any patent or legal right to do so. When this became known there were "discontented and mutinous speeches" from the strangers "amongst them,"—that is from those who came from England. They had not emigrated to find a home on the

cold, bleak, barren, rock bound coast of New England; they had been induced to emigrate with the understanding that they were to settle in Virginia under a patent from The London Company, and not in New England "with which ye Virginia Company had nothing to doe;" they said that, if they landed here "they would use their own libertie; for none had power to command them" in this territory as they had no patent for New England.

Carver and his associates at this time and "before they came ashore" produced an instrument or "compact," providing for a "civill body politick," which they demanded that all emigrants should sign. This Compact, providing for a "body politick" referred to by Mr. Robinson in his letter, was signed in the cabin of the Mayflower by forty-one of the adult emigrants.

The following is a copy of the Compact:—

"In ye name of God, Amen, we whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, King, defender of ye faith, etc. Having undertaken, for ye glory of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our King and countrie, a voyage *to plant ye first Colonie in ye northern parts of Virginia*, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together in a *civil body politick*, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid, And by virtue hereof to inacte, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions,

and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient—for ye general good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness thereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod ye 11 of November in ye raigne of our Soveraigne Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fifty-fourth An; Dom; 1620."

There are many expressions and other evidences contained in this compact which indicate that it was written before the Speedwell sailed from Delft Haven, except the testimonium clause. In Robinson's letter quoted above, he speaks of their becoming a "body politick," "using amongst yourselves civil governmente" which would be established by them, and exhorting all to obey those "to be chosen by you into civil government." The Speedwell sailed from Holland, with a patent from the Virginia Company to establish a Colony in Virginia territory. The compact, in pursuance of that patent, refers to "a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye northern part of Virginia." The testimonium clause, stating date and place of signing, was added, and the pact signed on board the Mayflower on November 11, 1620, at Cape Cod. This was after the "cheefe" men had abandoned the voyage to Virginia, turned back to Cape Cod, and decided to establish their Colony in New England. The body of this instrument is conclusive, that it was drawn up before leaving Holland, but that the testimonium clause was added at Cape Cod. In view of the "discontented and mutinous speeches" of ***** "some of the strangers,"

Carver and his associates deemed it safer to have this pact, providing for a civil government, signed before landing. Bradford does not state who signed this compact. Mr. George Morton in his "Memorial" says, that forty-one male persons signed it, including some servants. It was not signed by the women or children. Bradford says that John Carver was there "*chosen*" or "*rather confirmed*" as their Governor for that year." This confirmation of John Carver, the brother-in-law of Pastor Robinson, as governor was in pursuance of plans made by Robinson, Carver and other "cheefe" men for organizing a civil government in the Colony, before sailing from Holland.

Later on, and after they had located their Colony at Plymouth, "as time would admitte they mette and consulted of laws, and orders both for their civil and military government," but nothing was said concerning the Church.

This compact has been regarded as original, in that it provided for a civil government by men of their own choosing. The idea was most probably obtained from the Guilds of Holland with which Robinson and the other leaders were familiar. These Guilds were voluntary associations of men engaged in the same craft, trade or business; All members elected their officers, and made laws governing their particular craft, trade or business; each Guild generally "inhabitated a separate quarter of the town;" the members were trained in the use of arms, and Captains were placed in command; they were required to be ready, at all times, to respond to a call to service; the Ruler of these Guilds, called a "deacon," was practically the sole executive, regulating wages, prices and the

affairs of his Guild. Following the plan of the Guild, John Carver was elected Governor, and served for a short period,—until his death in March 1621. William Bradford was then elected as his successor, but as he was sick at that time, Isaac Allerton was elected as his assistant, and Captain Miles Standish was elected military commander.

The Governor was, practically, the Ruler of Plymouth Colony; nor was there ever, in fact, universal suffrage in the Colony. Bancroft says, that "Here was the birth of popular constitutional liberty," in America. Neither civil nor religious liberty, however, was founded under this compact. Nor was it the inspiration, plan or basis for our democracy as has been claimed.

This compact was not known to Thomas Jefferson or to any of our forefathers of revolutionary days, who had any part in writing the Declaration of Independence or our constitution. It was known, from references made by some Colonial writers in New England, that Bradford had written a history of Plymouth Colony, in which a copy of this compact appears, but the manuscript was lost before our Revolution. It was not discovered until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was found in the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham, England. The manuscript was delivered to Ambassador Bayard in 1897, brought to this country, and afterwards published for the first time. It was unknown and entirely without influence in the framing or adoption of our constitution or in the organization of our representative form of government.

Chapter XIII

PLYMOUTH

ON November 11, 1620, after the signing of the compact, a landing was made on the site of Provincetown, on Cape Cod, by "a few of them." On November 15, Captain Standish and sixteen "well armed" men "set out to discover those nearest places" for a permanent "habitation." This expedition was without adventure or success; so they returned to the ship. The month of November was spent in exploring the coast and country near in their shallop, without, however, finding a suitable place to locate their Colony.

On December 6, they "sente out their shallop againe with ten of their principall men *** upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deepe bay of Cape Codd." On this expedition, they "divided their company—some to coast along ye shore in ye boate, and the rest marched through ye woods to see ye land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling." For several days they coasted and explored the country; but "discovered no place likely for harbor." They suffered much from the extreme cold and storms during these days. They had seen a few Indians on previous expeditions; they now had "ye first encounter with them." Many arrows were shot at them to which they responded with their muskets. None were "either hurte or hitt" by the arrows.

When the exploring party was near what is now Plymouth their "Pillot—Mr. Coffin—who had bine in ye countrie before," told them of a good harbor "which he had been in." Before they reached this harbor, a severe storm came up, breaking their rudder; their mast was, also, broken and their "saill fell overbord;" so that they were in danger of being "cast away." They, finally, escaped from this danger, and in "ye end they gott under ye lee of a small island on which they landed," and *** "remained there all that night in saftie;" this was an island in Plymouth harbor.

After Captain John Smith made the survey of the coast in 1614, he returned to England, wrote a history of his expedition, and prepared a map of the coast and country, which was published in 1616. He presented this "discoverie with the map" to Prince Charles, who, at Captain Smith's request, gave names to the various places on the coast. To that inlet or harbor with its little "Ile." the Prince gave the name "Plimoth." This is the name that appears on the ancient map of Captain John Smith, and is the origin of the name of the Colony.

The next day, after Captain Standish and his party landed on this island, "was a faire sunshiny day," and being the "last day of ye week," they "prepared ther to keep ye Sabath." On Monday, they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping. They went to the main land, and found corn fields and little running brooks,—"a place fitt for situation." They then returned to the ship, and reported, "this news ***** which did much comfort ye people."

On December 15, the Mayflower weighed anchor to "goe to ye place they had discovered." On December 16, the "winde" being "faire, ** they arrived safe in this harbor." On ye twenty-fifth day, they "began to erect ye first house for comone use to receive them and their goods." This common house, "was built on a great hill;" it was about twenty feet square with a flat roof; they moved their goods into it, and put it as "full of beds as they could lie;" the room was, also, used by them as a general store, fort and meeting house on Sunday. They held the first service in this common house on March 21, 1621.

Winslow says that "Tuesday, the ninth of January was a reasonable fair day," and they proceeded to the erection of their houses.

The people were divided into nineteen groups or families, so that fewer houses would be needed at first; they built seven cabins, in which these nineteen families were housed.

In Plymouth harbor there is a large stone on the shore at the water's edge, called today "Plymouth Rock." It is said that the Pilgrims first landed on this rock. The rock is not mentioned by Bradford or by any other writer of that period; the story of the landing of the Pilgrims on this rock was not known until a century and a third later; it is based on a purported statement made in 1741, by Thomas Faunce, an old man ninety-four years of age; he said that when he was a boy his father told him "that the Mayflower passengers landed on this boulder." As Faunce's father was not a passenger on the Mayflower in 1620, but came later, the story of his aged son is not very reliable.

In 1774, the rock was split, and a part of it carried on shore; but, later, as "ye rock" became a shrine, the split part was carried back and placed with the original rock, and a wooden fence was built around it; afterwards, as the revenue feature developed, the people of Plymouth built an iron fence around it, and later, a pagoda or pavilion was built over it.

The tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims was celebrated at Plymouth in 1921. There will be erected on this spot a splendid monument, to mark the first landing of the Pilgrims.

There is a vein of idealism running through the American character, that saves us from the entirely cold, calculating selfishness of people devoted to the practical development of a new country.

We have no Westminster Abbey, or cathedrals carved in stone and grown gray with the centuries, monuments to the religious zeal of our forefathers, housing memories of achievements of our heroes in Church, literature, art, science, statesmanship and war. We are still young in our national and racial life, but we are, nevertheless, hero worshippers and builders of shrines.

Plymouth Rock has been glorified by poet, painter and the later historians.

Henry Van Dyke says, "The New Englanders, who have written most of the American histories, have been in the way of claiming the lion's share of the religious influence for the Puritans;" and, we may add, that they also, claim the credit for having founded our Nation.

Longfellow sings,

"Down to the Plymouth Rock, that had been
to their feet as a doorstep
Into the world unknown—the cornerstone of a
nation."

This rock has been invested with both a religious and political significance that has made it a shrine. It has become the mecca of idealists, who have chipped off small pieces of stone, and preserved them as sacred mementoes of the spot first touched by Pilgrim feet; tourists have stood about it, and, in the true spirit of hero worship, have lavished upon it all honor, reverence and veneration.

We stand with uncovered head beside the graves of those courageous men and brave, noble women, who sailed across the storm tossed ocean to make homes in the wilderness of the New World, but found only hunger, cold and death on the bleak, wintry shores of the New England coast. We honor those heroic men and women, who made the supreme sacrifice and laid down their lives in an effort to found a nation, but without sucess. To Plymouth is due the honor of being the site of the first permanent settlement in New England.

The cornerstone of our nation, however, was not laid at Plymouth in 1620, but at Jamestown in 1607.

Chapter XIV

THE NEW WORLD

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, on his return from New England, wrote his "General History of New England," which was published about 1616. In this history, he presents a flattering picture of the fertility, climate, industrial, and trading possibilities of New England. He says, he found there, "gardens, corn fields and well timbered land," a "greatness of fish" and a "moderate temper of the air;" that the "maine staple is fish." He then gives a glowing picture of the riches and greatness of Holland, all derived from the trade in fish. "No State," he says, "is so mighty, strong and rich as Holland, save Venice, with so many faire cities and goodly towns, ** with its shipping, merchandise, gold, silver, pearles, diamonds, pretious stones, silkes, velvets and cloth of gold,"—all the result of "this contemptible trade of fish;" that here in New England, "by industry" one may "quickly grow rich spending but halfe that time well;" that this part in latitude 41, 42 and 43, is as "temperate and as fruitful as any other parallel in the world;" that the ground is so fertile it will grow "graine, fruits or seed;" that there are fur bearing animals, namely, muskrat, beaver, otters, martins, and black foxes; that the "country of Massachusetts ** is the paradice of all those parts." This was

a glowing and alluring picture, but the true conditions were a sore and bitter disappointment to the PilgrimFathers.

Smith further advises "each parish or village," to send "their fatherless children of thirteene or fourteene yeeres of age, or young married people and servants;" also, that a "fortress" will be necessary, and "means to defend them." Smith's history of New England, with the account of its wonderful resources and climate, was known, generally, in England and Holland before the sailing of the Mayflower, and without doubt was known to Robinson. It was more than a coincidence that the Pilgrim Fathers followed these suggestions as to those who should emigrate. Among those who sailed were young married people, many servants, and a number of boys thirteen or fourteen years of age, either fatherless, or, at least, without fathers among the emigrants.

This extravagant account of Smith, of the climate, condition and resources of the country, its flattering prospects and opportunities for riches, both on land and on sea, evidently caused the change in the plans of Carver and the leaders to abandon Virginia, and to establish their Colony in New England. They found, however, that Smith's description of the country was untrue in every particular; they arrived at Cape Cod in the middle of a cold, bleak, New England winter; the ground was "all covered with snow and hard frozen;" in the bitter storms, sleet and snow of December, parties of men explored the country seeking a "fit place for their dwelling;" they lived on ship board until their houses were ready for occupancy, the latter part of January 1621.

The long voyage and life on board the Mayflower after arriving in New England, had caused them to be afflicted with "scurvie" and other "diseases;" the intense cold, privation, lack of proper food and disease brought sickness and death to many; the sufferings of the women and children were "pitiful to behold." There were but "6 or 7 sound persons" left to care for the sick and dying; sometimes "they died 2 or three a day;" thirteen women, out of the nineteen who came, many children, and some of the men died "in this general sickness" during this first winter; Rose Standish, the wife of Captain Miles Standish, died at this time, and Dorothy Bradford, wife of William Bradford, falling over board, was drowned while they were at Cape Cod; during this first winter, about fifty, of the one hundred passengers of the Mayflower, died.

Historians have lauded the Mayflower emigrants as home-builders; that they came to settle and make homes in the New World, and so brought their wives and children with them. At the end of the first winter there were only five women home-builders, still living in Plymouth Colony; one of these—Rose Minter—soon returned to England. Nor did the wives of the married men, who left their families at home, or any other women come to Plymouth for three years.

It was not only unwise, it was a cruel thing, to subject these wives and children of tender years, to the privations, dangers, exposure and cold of this bleak, New England climate.

Historians have condemned the first Jamestown Colon-

ists, because they did not bring their wives and children to Virginia; it was said of them that they were not home-builders, but mere adventurers. These settlers were more humane, and showed greater wisdom than the Plymouth settlers in leaving their families in England until they could make homes for them in Virginia. Its to their eternal credit that they were both wise and unselfish enough to brave these perils alone.

Chapter XV

THE YEARS 1621-1623—THE FAMINE

WITH the coming of Spring, the sick, who survived, recovered their health; as their strength returned, they turned to the planting of corn; they were instructed how to fertilize the ground and plant corn by a friendly Indian named Squanto; they planted about twenty acres of corn and some barley. During the year, they raised their crops, traded with the Indians for fur, and engaged in hunting game and fishing; when the fall came they fitted up their houses and harvested their crops. They raised a good crop of corn and barley, and, by hunting and fishing, laid up a good supply of fish, water fowl, wild turkey and other game.

They now celebrated the first Thanksgiving Day in the New World by a great feast. To this feast, they invited the Indian Chief, Massacoit, and his tribe; the celebration lasted three days; they spent the time in feasting, out door sports, drilling, "dancing and singing by the Indians."

About November 11, 1621, the ship, Fortune, arrived at Plymouth bringing thirty-five men. The ship brought the Colony no supplies, and the men were entirely destitute; they had, "not so much as a bisket cake or any other victualls, nor any bedding *** nor pot nor pan, ** nor over many cloaths." These were "mostly young men, and

many of them wild enough." They were from London, and were not Separatists. These "late comers" were placed in "several families." The Colony now numbered eighty people, all men, except four women and a few children who came with the first settlers.

On taking account of their provisions, it was found that it would "not hold out above six months at halfe allowance;" every body was then put on half allowance for the winter. The Colony suffered greatly from lack of provisions and supplies during the years 1622 and 1623. They had expected to receive supplies from England, but none came. About the latter part of May 1622, a boat came with seven passengers from a ship, which had been sent out for fishing by Mr. Weston; but, as Bradford says, "no vitails, nor any hope of any." He concludes in a sarcastic vein, quoting the Psalmist, Psa. 118-8. "It is better to trust in the Lord, than to have confidence in man," especially "in ye merchants."

This year they raised very little corn; they were weak, Bradford says, "for want of food;" they, however, obtained a supply of corn from the Indians, which lasted them until the spring of 1623. It is difficult to understand how the Colony could have suffered from lack of food in the year 1622; the sea and brooks were full of fish, and there was an abundance of game in the woods; there were now over seventy men in the Colony able to work. There is no explanation for their suffering for want of food at this time, save the fact that the Colonists were on the community plan, and they would not work.

Until the spring of 1623, they had been working on the

community plan. They had not raised enough corn, nor provided enough food to feed the Colony; they were bordering on famine all the time; in order that they still might not thus "languish in miserie," each family was now assigned "a parcel of land for their present use." The term family here refers to the division of the Colony into seven groups, one in each cabin. Except for this assignment of land, they still continued to live under the community plan. Under this new plan, however, the men became more industrious; they planted more corn and were better contented; even the women—there were at that time only four in the Colony—now went willingly into the fields, who before, alleged their "weakness and inabilitie."

The year 1623, may be called the famine year of the Plymouth Colonists. By the time their corn was planted, "all their vitails were spente;" for two or three months together, they had neither bread nor any kind of corn; at night, they at times did not know where they were to get "a bitt of anything ye next day." They now divided their company into groups of six or seven each for fishing. Each group would take its turn in fishing in the one boat they possessed. They dug shell fish at low water out of the sand, and sometimes they obtained a deer. Thus they lived all summer, When winter came they obtained "ground nuts and fowle."

In the latter part of the summer of 1623, two ships, the Anne, with Mr. William Pierce as Master, and a Pinass arrived at Plymouth. These ships brought about sixty persons from England under contract with, and at the

expense of the Adventurers. Some were "very useful persons," and some were wives and children of Englishmen already in the Colony; some, however, were so bad they were sent home the next year.

There was, also, another company under John Oldham, who came on "their particular," that is, at their own charge and expense. These men were "to have lands assigned to them, and be for themselves, yet be subject to the General Government." These new comers found a distressing condition in the Colony; "Many were ragged in apparel, and some little beter than halfe naked;" they could offer these new comers only a "lobster or a peece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cupp of fair spring water."

Three years had now elapsed since the Mayflower landed these emigrants at Plymouth. They had suffered cold, sickness, famine and death. The distressing and disastrous experience of these Plymouth settlers were but a parallel of the sufferings of the Jamestown Colonists; each Colony suffered hunger, famine and sickness; one half of each Colony died during the first six months, and each was afflicted with some "undesirables." The Pilgrim Fathers came without any minister; the Jamestown settlers brought with them the Rev. Robert Hunt, a pious and godly man, who was a comfort and consolation to these settlers in their sufferings and death. Historians, however, have idealized the Plymouth Colonists, but the Jamestown settlers have suffered only contumely from them.

Chapter XVI

JOHN PIERCE AND THE NEW CHARTER

THE CHARTER granted in 1606, by King James to Sir George Popham and others, known as the Plymouth Company, for the territory in which New England is situated, had been abandoned before the sailing of the Mayflower.

John Smith's history, with its extravagant and alluring representations of the country, induced a new company to apply to the King for a charter to this New England territory. In November 1620, King James granted a patent to a new Council of Plymouth in England to all the territory lying between the latitudes 40 and 48. This charter recognized the spiritual and temporal supremacy of the King.

The Plymouth settlers ,without authority from any one, had established their Colony within this territory.

The Mayflower, on her return to England in the spring of 1621, brought the information that the Pilgrim Fathers had located their Colony at Plymouth in New England, and not in Virginia. The Merchant Adventurers, who had financed the Company, on learning that Carver, Bradford and Brewster had located the Colony in New England territory on land to which they had no patent and right, in order to protect themselves, applied to the

Council of the Plymouth Company in England for a patent to the land on which the Pilgrim Fathers had settled; this was granted in the fall of 1621, and a charter was issued in the name of John Pierce and his associates. Pierce was one of the adventurers; he was to hold the patent in trust for the Colony. This patent was brought over to the Company by the Fortune in the late fall of 1621.

As this patent was in his name, Pierce now devised a scheme to obtain another patent for a larger territory, including in it the land already granted, in order that he might claim the whole of it as his own property.

In April 1621, Pierce, in pursuance of his plan, applied to the Council of Plymouth for a new patent, larger in extent and with greater powers, which was granted him. Under the provisions of this new patent, he claimed that he was the "Lord and Chief" of the Plymouth Colonists, and had the right to hold them "as his tenants." When his fraud was discovered, Bradford says, that he was compelled to assign over his "grand patente" to the Company. In May 1623, his fraudulent patent was cancelled, and the Adventurers and Colonists were restored to their rights under the first patent.

In June 1622, Thomas Weston, one of the Adventurers, sold his interest in the Plymouth Colony, and fitted out three small ships to plant a Colony in New England on his own account near the Plymouth Colony. These ships arrived at Plymouth with about sixty men; they were housed, cared for, and the sick were nursed back to health by the Colonists; they remained during the greater

part of the summer at Plymouth. Robert Cushman wrote to Governor Bradford, that "these people are no men for us;" they were found to be "unruly" and undesirable; in the fall they moved into "ye Massachusetts Bay," and established a plantation at Wessagusset; they were improvident and soon exhausted their supplies. The plantation was a failure, and after much suffering and distress, was abandoned.

In June 1623, Captain Francis West arrived at Plymouth with a commission from the Council of Plymouth in England to restrain inter-lopers, and to stop fishing and trading without a license from the Council, and the payment of a "rounde sume of money." The Plymouth Colonists refused to comply, and afterward procured an order from the English Parliament allowing them to engage in fishing free.

About the middle of September 1623, Captain Robert Gorges arrived in the Bay of Massachusetts with passengers and families to establish a plantation; they selected Wessagusset as the sight for their Colony, which Weston had occupied and afterwards abandoned.

Captain Robert Gorges held a commission from the "Counsell of New England, in England, to be General Governor" of "ye countrie," with Captain Francis West and Christopher Levite as his assistants. This commission also gave Captain Gorges and his assistants power to "doe and execute what to them should seem good in all cases, capitall, criminall and civill." A copy of this commission was read to Governor Bradford, and he was suffered to take a copy. The Colonists, however, ignored this commission.

Captain Gorges and his emigrants, not finding conditions as they had expected, soon scattered, and he returned to England. Some of his people returned to England, others went to Virginia, and some few remained in New England.

Chapter XVII

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE COLONY

IN 1624, there were about one hundred and eighty persons in Plymouth Colony. William Bradford was again elected Governor. Prior to this time there had been but one assistant, but now the number was increased to five members. Five assistants were now chosen, but "giving to the Governor a dubble voyce." The Governor, with these five assistants, constituted the entire civil government, executive, legislative and judicial, of the Colony.

Mr. Winslow was sent to England in 1623, for the Colony, and on his return in May 1624, he brought with him three heifers and a bull, and, also, some "clothing and other necessaries." These were the first cattle of any kind in the Colony.

Even though "Raghorn," the bull, did not arrive at Plymouth until some years after John Alden had wooed and won Priscilla Mullins, yet, it is a very sweet picture that Longfellow gives of John with his "snow white bull," on which Priscilla rode "like a queen," ** "through the Plymouth woods" as

"Onward the bridal procession now moved to
their new habitation."

The Colony had not been a success in any particular,

either in its numerical growth, financially, or in its religious life. Ships returning from New England reported to the Merchant Adventurers that very bad conditions prevailed in the Colony. Captain Gorges on his return confirmed these reports. Robert Cushman and Mr. Sherley wrote to Governor Bradford, telling him of these reports and complaints, and requesting an answer to them. The following are some of the complaints and charges made against the Pilgrim Fathers, namely,—That they were "starved in body and soul;" that "they eate piggs and doggs that dye alone;" that reports of "ye goodness of ye countrie are gross and palpable lyes;" that there is "scarcely a fowle to be seen or a fish to be taken;" that there are religious differences; that family duties were neglected on the Lord's Day; that there was no administration of the sacrament; that the children were not taught to read; that many of the 'Particulars' refused to work for the 'Generall,' i. e., the Plymouth Company, that the ground is barren, and that many are thieves and steal.

Governor Bradford answered, denying many of the charges, acknowledging that some were true, and making explanations as to others. There is abundant proof, however, that all of these charges were true, except the one that "they eate piggs and doggs that dye alone." Bradford, however, admits that during the famine they lived on shellfish dug out of the sand ,and at times they did not know where they were to get a "bitt of anything ye next day." To the charge that there were religious differences in the Colony, Bradford answered, "We know

no such matter, for here was never no controversie or opposition, either publick or private, to our knowledge, since we came." It is difficult to reconcile Bradford's answer to this last charge with the truth. The religious differences and controversies in the Colony between the Separatists, with Bradford as their leader, and those of the Established Church, were a constant source of trouble, and gave rise to a very serious difficulty.

The Adventurers sent over Mr. John Lyford, a clergyman of the Established Church, with Separatist tendencies, as a minister for the Colony. He was not a Brownist when he came, but finding only the Independent or Separatist Church, he was admitted to it, and sometimes preached there, though not elected as their pastor. John Oldham was a leader of the "Particulars," who had come at their own expense. Though settled in Plymouth Colony, yet they were allowed no voice in the civil affairs of the Colony, nor were they allowed to have or attend services of the Established Church, though they were of that Church, and were not Separatists. Bradford and those in authority required them to attend the Separatists' meetings, or suffer punishment for refusal or failure to do so.

Lyford, being an Episcopal Clergyman, soon joined the Oldham faction, and began holding services of the Established Church "on the Lord's Day." Bradford, in a spirit of intolerant bigotry, says, that Lyford and "his accomplices without ever speaking a word either to ye Governor or Elder, withdrew themselves and set up publick meeting aparte on ye Lord's Day." Oldham and the "Particulars" were English subjects, living on English soil and under

the English flag; they were loyal to Church and State; it was not only their right, but their duty, under the English laws to hold meetings, and use the form of service of the Established Church.

Oldham and Lyford now wrote to the Company in England, and told them of the civil and religious conditions in the Colony. They were, Bradford says, "full of slanderous and false accusations." Oldham and Lyford gave these letters to the Master of a ship, then preparing to sail for England, to be delivered to the Company; there was found "among ye rest a letter of their confederates," saying that "Mr. Oldham and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in Church and Commonwealth; that they intended to joyne together, and have the sacraments etc." This may have been treason to the Brownist government, but it was loyalty to the King, to their religion, and to the laws of their Country.

Bradford says, "it was now thought high time, to prevent further mischief, to call them to account." He called a court, composed of himself and his five Separatist assistants; Oldham and Lyford were charged with plotting against the Colony, which they denied; the Governor then produced the intercepted letters of Oldham and Lyford.

The following charges, against the Pilgrim Fathers, were made in Lyford's letters.

1. That the Church would have none to come but themselves.

2. That if any honest men come over that are "not of ye Separation, they will quickly distaste them."

****

4. That they sought to ruin the "Particulars" in this, that "they would not suffer any of ye general either to buy or sell with them, or to exchange one commoditie for another."

5. That "they turned men into their 'particular' and then sought to starve them."

These letters, also, gave some "counsell and directions" as follows,—

"1. That the Leyden Company—Mr. Robinson and ye rest, must still be kept back; that the Particulars should have voices in all courts and elections, and be free to bear any office."

****

4. That if they, the "Particulars, cannot be so strengthened as to carry and overbear things, it will be best to establish a plantation elsewhere by themselves."

Governor Bradford denied all of these charges; they were, however, substantially true. It was true that the "Particulars" had neither religious nor civil liberty; the Independent Church of the Separatists was the only one allowed in the Colony, and only such were admitted to membership as the "cheefe" men desired. Although the Separatists were only a very small minority, yet the majority, who were of the Established Church, were excluded from all religious privileges, except those of the Independent Church; they were not allowed to have a church of their own faith in the Colony. It was true that Bradford and his associates assumed all civil authority, allowing only freemen of the Colony to vote, and

admitting only such to the privileges of freemen as they wished; those of the Established Church were barred. Lyford was, also, charged with dissembling, in that, he had been admitted to their Church, and had "professed to concur with them in all things;" that he "drew a company aparte, and administered the Sacraments," as minister of the Episcopal Church. This was true, but it was a sacred duty which he performed. Bradford says, that Lyford "confessed he feared he was a reprobate," and that he had wronged them.

Oldham and Lyford were both convicted by their Judges, and Oldham was expelled from the Colony. Lyford was sentenced to expulsion, but was allowed to remain on confession of his sins.

Lyford, "after a month or two," notwithstanding his confession, conviction and public acknowledgment, wrote a second letter to "ye Adventurers" in England. In this letter, he said that the charges made in his previous letter of conditions in the Colony were true; that those outside the Independent Church, though the Separatists were "ye smallest number in ye Colony," were without Church or ministrie "nor had they any ministrie since they came;" that some ** "have, with tears, complained of this to me, and I was taxed for preaching to all in generall."

Bradford does not deny these charges of Lyford, but justifies their conduct, saying that they had "God's word for their warrant; that ordinairie officers are bound cheefly to their flocks," quoting Acts 20; 28. "Take heed therefore unto yourselves and to all the flock over which the holy Ghost have made you overseers." This

Plymouth flock, of which Bradford and Brewster were "overseers," were Brownists.

Lyford was a man of bad character and low morals, as subsequent events proved. He was not, however, expelled from the Colony, because of his bad character, or immoralities, but on account of his exposition of conditions in the Colony.

Chapter XVIII

THE ADVENTURERS BREAK WITH THE COLONISTS

THE COLONY had proven to be a losing venture to the Merchant Adventurers.

The Colonists had not succeeded as farmers, because the country was not suitable for agriculture; they had not built up a fur trade with the Indians, nor had they been successful in their fishing ventures; they had become indebted to the Adventurers in a sum not less than fourteen hundred pounds for supplies; this was in addition to the amount, which the Adventurers had advanced them to finance the Colony in the beginning, which was about seven thousand pounds.

When the report of the conditions in the Colony, from Oldham and Lyford, were received by the Company in England, "the greatest part" of the Adventurers refused to furnish "any further supplies" to the Colony. The Company wrote the Colonists the following, as some of the reasons "of their breaking off from ye plantation," namely, that they had "dissembled with his Majesty in their petition, and with ye Adventurers about ye French discipline;" (The French discipline did not conflict with that of the Established Church) further, that, though they denied the name of Brownists, they practiced the same.

The Adventurers further say, that if we continue in trade with you, we desire:—

"First. That as we are partners in trade, so we may be in government there as our patent doth give us power.

'2nd. That the French discipline may be practised in the plantation in substance, whereby ye scandalous name of ye Brownists, and other Church differences may be taken away.

'3rd. Lastly, that Mr. Robinson and his Company may not go over to our plantation, unless he and they will *reconcile themselves to our Church* by a recantation."

The answer of Bradford and his associates to these demands was evasive; its tenor, however, was to the effect that they did not intend to abandon their Independent Church. The Adventurers were clearly right in their demands; they had financed the Colonists with the understanding that the plantation was to be located in Virginia, under a patent in which they recognized the Established Church and the Supremacy of the King as spiritual and temporal Ruler of the Nation.

Bradford and his associates did not go to Virginia, but went to New England, without the knowlege of the Adventurers, and without authority located their Colony on land to which they had no right or patent. When the Adventurers learned of this, in order to protect their interests, they obtained a patent to the land on which the Colony was located, and the Colonists accepted and claimed the land under this patent. In accepting and claiming under this patent they become subject to all the laws of England, both civil and ecclesiastical.

Bradford ignored the claim made by the Adventurers that as they were partners they were entitled to a voice in the civil government. Under their contract and patent the Adventurers had a right to a voice in the civil government. At this time, there were not more than twenty persons in the Colony from the Leyden congregation, and a very few Separatists from England; the remainder of those in the Colony were either sent over by the Adventurers, or had come to Plymouth from settlements made in other parts of Massachusetts, and were loyal to the Established Church; they were not Brownists, consequently, were not allowed the service of their Church, nor any voice in the civil government of the Colony. Under the laws of England, they were prohibited from attending a non-conformist meeting, yet if they did not "attend ye hearing of ye word" in the Independent Church, "they were punished for ye same."

When the Adventurers learned that Bradford and his associates had established a Brownist Church, and excluded the Established Church from the Colony, they objected because it was in conflict with the laws of England. They, therefore, insisted on the exclusion of "Robinson and his Company" from the Colony, as one of the conditions on which they would continue to support the Colony, "unless he and they would reconcile themselves to our Church by a recantation;" they were entirely justified in the stand taken by them in this matter.

Bradford, Brewster and these Plymouth Brownists were, as ever, intolerant and defiant of the laws, even though living and claiming protection under them.

The Adventurers were very much dissatisfied with their venture. They had furnished the Colonists about seven thousand pounds, their original investment, and since that time they had advanced fourteen hundred pounds for buying supplies, and supporting the Colonists in New England; no part of these sums had been paid; the Colonists, however, had their living and support from the common store during all these years.

All parties, both the Colonists and the Adventurers, were desirous of ending the contract, which by its terms would expire in 1627. In 1625, the Colonists sent Captain Miles Standish to England to raise money for the Colony, and to sound the Company in the matter of making a settlement with them, and terminating the contract. Some progress was made by him toward a "composition" with the Merchant Adventurers. The next year, 1626, they sent Mr. Allerton to England for the purpose of arranging a settlement with the Company. He returned in the spring of 1627 bringing with him a draft of an agreement for a settlement, in substance as follows,— The Adventurers agreed to sell to Isaac Allerton, the agent for the planters, their interest in all "stock, shares, lands, merchandise and chattels of the Company, for the sum of eighteen hundred pounds payable in installments of two hundred pounds each year, the first payment to be made in 1628; the Colonists agreed to sign an obligation for the payment of this money. This agreement was "very well liked," and approved by all the plantation, and seven or eight of the "cheefe" men of the Colony signed this obligation and became bound "in ye behalfe

of ye rest" to the Adventurers for the payment of eighteen hundred pounds.

This ended the community contract that had proven so disastrous to the merchants. Of more than eight thousand pounds, which they had advanced to the Colonists, they had received nothing in return, and now accepted eighteen hundred pounds in full settlement of all claims and demands against the Colonists, and for their interest in all community property.

All of the benefits had accrued to the Colonists, and none to the Merchant Adventurers; they had suffered a heavy loss instead of a profit. The Colonists had received their transportation and many supplies, their living and support for seven years, and now became possessed of all the property, both land and personal, of the Company, and had become established as the first permanent Colony in New England.

Chapter XIX

COMMUNISM

IN the colonization of New England and Virginia, the contracts made between the Adventurers, that is the men, who furnished the money, and the emigrants, were communistic.

The Merchant Adventurers were to furnish the money in both cases, and they were to continue together as a joint stock company for a period of seven years; that during that time the emigrants on their part, should work for the common good, and that the result of their labor should be placed in the community store house; that their support and supplies should be apportioned out of the common stock, and at the end of seven years all profits from whatever source should then be divided between the Adventurers and the emigrants on the basis agreed upon.

This communistic plan was a failure in both the Virginia and the New England Colonies; it destroyed individuality; it robbed the emigrant of the incentive to labor and produce; he could not enjoy the result of his thrift and industry, but he must share it with the incompetent improvident, shiftless and lazy. It proved to be profitable neither to the Adventurers nor to the emigrants.

"What is a Communist? One that hath yearnings
For equal division of unequal earnings,
Idler or bungler or both, he is willing
To fork out his penny and pocket your shillings."

It is to little purpose, and under a misconception of the facts, that writers, three centuries after, rail at the Merchant Adventurers for driving, what they term, a hard bargain with the Emigrants.

This community plan was not new to the Leyden congregation. Various religious Sects had adopted, and were living under the community plan,—that is, the individual members were living and working on the basis of putting their earnings and property in one common stock.

The Separatists had, to some extent, been living under it in Holland. In making this contract they thought that, if it had proven a blessing to them in their exile in Holland, why not in America? They were willing to accept the contract based on the community plan.

As we look back through the centuries, we see one reason, at least, fatal to its success,—the Plymouth Colonists were not homogenious. The Colony was composed of all types of men,—the industrious, the lazy, the thrifty, the shiftless, the ungodly and undesirable, the godly, the conformists of the Established Church and the Brownists. Even if it had not been based on principles that are fundamentally wrong, yet under these conditions, the community plan was impossible of success.

In 1623, the Governor and "cheefe" advisers awoke to

the fact that communism was a failure. In order to encourage the raising of more corn a "parcell of land" was allotted, for the time being, to each family. The corn raised, became the individual property of the family; the plan proved to be a success.

Bradford says, that their experience shows the "vanitie of that conceit of Plato," the ancient Communist,— "that ye taking away of propertie and bringing in communitie into a commone wealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God." He says, that the young and able would not work for other men's wives and children "without any recompense;" that "victails and clothes" were divided equally between the young and old, the strong and weak. "This was thought injustice."

The "Community plan was found to breed much confusion and discontent" among the Colonists. Communism was a failure.

In 1624, the Colonists appealed to the Governor to have a piece of land allotted to them individually, that each one might cultivate, improve, keep and enjoy; this request was granted, and each person was allotted one acre of land "to them and theirs." This was the beginning of the end of Communism in Plymouth Colony, though some years were required before it was, finally, abandoned.

Chapter XX

A MONOPOLY OF TRADE IN THE COLONY

THOUGH this contract and sale of all the interests of the Adventurers in the property and lands of the joint company was made in the name of Isaac Allerton, and the obligation for the payment of eighteen hundred pounds, the purchase price therefor, was signed by only seven or eight of "ye cheefe men" of the Colony, yet it was for the benefit of all the Colonists.

Notwithstanding this fact, it is evident that Bradford, Allerton, Brewster and Winslow intended to take all of the property, lands, rights and benefits, under the contract of settlement, for themselves to the exclusion of all other Colonists. This conduct of the Brownists "cheefes" threatened the peace and harmony of the Colony.

At this time, there were very few of the Colonists in Plymouth who had sailed in the Mayflower still living, and only thirty-five had arrived from Leyden since that time. The great majority of the Colonists were from England; some had been sent out under contract with the Adventurers and others had come on their own "Particular,"—at their own expense; all of these people had acquired interests, either in individual or in community property and lands in Plymouth; they had spent their time, labor and money in acquiring property, and in the

development of the Colony; they now demanded that their rights, subject to the payment of the debts, should be recognized. They registered a vigorous protest against the acts of these "Pilgrim Fathers," in claiming for themselves all community property of the Colony.

In order to preserve "peace and union," and prevent "danger and great disturbance," which might grow to the r great "hurt and prejudice," the "Governor and Counsell," and "other of their cheefes," decided that it would be wise to take into partnership all "that were either heads of families or single yonge men of ability and free." They resolved, however, to make a distribution in such a manner as to retain control of the affairs of the Colony; they required every man to whom an allotment was made to pay a proportionate part of the indebtedness. They now made distribution of the property in the following manner, namely,—they gave a "cowe and two goats to six persons, and swine by the same rule." The leaders distributed the land "as seemed to them best."

1st. "To the group of from eight to fifteen, which number included the leaders, ** whom they regarded as most worthy ** they allotted the best house lots, the best meadows for hay and the most desirable fishing rights." These were Brownists.

2nd. "To a second group, which contained the remainder of the Church members, other good and, on the whole, desirable grants were made."

3rd. "Potential Church members, godly and desired persons, called Inhabitants, who could be trusted to

pursue agriculture as a calling, under such restrictions as the leaders deemed necessary, were, also, given land."

4th. "The unprivileged, those who were not considered as possible church members or citizens, received no land, had no right to cut hay on the town meadows, and were obliged to work as directed. These included all temporary residents of the Colony, called sojourners, people on probation pending a decision by the leaders as to their desirability for Colony residence, and the bond servants, servants, apprentices, minor children and slaves." The slaves were Indians captured in war, and some negroes. "The inhabitants ** might graduate into the Freeman class, or one of the utterly unprivileged might become an Inhabitant at the discretion of Bradford, Brewster, Allerton, the son-in-law of William Brewster, Edward Winslow and Miles Standish. These few men absolutely controlled the destiny of the Colony.

Under this plan, only members of the Independent or Brownist Church were allotted land, or admitted to the rank of Freemen.

Governor Bradford and "some of the cheefe friends," being now free from the contract with the Adventurers, who had forbidden them bringing any more of the Leyden Brownists into the Colony unless they recanted, were desirous of "devising means to help some of their friends and brethren of Leyden" over to them. In order to effect this, Bradford says, "they resolved to rune a high course, and of great adventure, not knowing otherwise how to bring it about."

They now devised a scheme to obtain a monopoly of the trade of the Colony, and to get possession of all its personal property. To that end a contract was made in July 1627, "between ye Colony of New Plimoth," whereby William Bradford as Governor of the Colony, gave to himself,— "William Bradford, Miles Standish and Isaac Allerton and etc.", William Brewster and Edward Winslow also being parties to the contract, the use of the pinass, a boat and shalopp, together "with their whole stock of furs, pelts, beads, corn, wampumpeak, hatchets, knives, and etc." and, also, "*ye whole trade*" *of ye Colony* "with all ye privileges thereof ** for 6 full years." William Bradford, Captain Miles Standish and Isaac Allerton and others to the contract, were to pay the debts of the Company, namely, eighteen hundred pounds, to the Adventurers, "about six hundred pounds more" and to pay yearly "3 bushels of corne, or 6 pounds of tobacco" and "bestow 50 pounds per annum in hose and shoes ** for ye collonies use," but "to be sould under them for corne at six shillings per bushell."

The Colonists were called together and the contract explained to them. They approved it, with the understanding that it was only made for the purpose of paying the indebtedness of the Colony. The plan, however, of Bradford and his "cheefe" men to bring over their Leyden friends was "kept secrete." They "only privately acquaynted some of their trusty friends therewith."

When it is remembered, that Plymouth was an English Colony, that the Colonists, were mostly loyal English subjects, we can understand the reason for maintaining

secrecy concerning the plan to bring to the Colony their Brownist friends from Leyden.

Isaac Allerton was now sent to England to pay the first instalment of two hundred pounds of the debt, and obtain a deed to the property from the Adventurers. He was, also, to arrange with parties to serve them as agents and factors under this contract. He returned in the spring of 1628, bringing with him the deed from the Adventurers.

Allerton at this time brought with him a patent for land on the Kennebec river, but the description was so indefinite that another one was obtained in 1630. This patent was issued to William Bradford, his heirs and assigns, and included not only land on the Kennebec, but, also, a "tract of land including Plymouth," and extending to Narragansett Bay. The Colony was governed under this patent until it was merged in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1691.

Bradford, though Governor of the Colony, and his associates had thus obtained title to all the property, both real and personal, of the Colony, as well as a monopoly of all the trading rights in the Colony for a period of six years.

Bradford, Standish and other parties to the contract had implicit faith in the honesty of their co-partner Isaac Allerton; but in 1629, they began to suspect that he was not dealing honestly with them. He was, however, sent to England again in 1629, on business for his co-partners; again, his conduct of their affairs was such as to lead them to mistrust him. In 1630, Bradford and his associates sent Edward Winslow to England to investigate

Mr. Allerton's "course," *** "and if he found things not well, to discharge him." The charges of misconduct and wrong doing by Allerton were found to be true; he had traded with the funds of the Company, dealt in the name of the Company on his own account, kept profits belonging to them, and involved them in an indebtedness of about four thousand pounds. It was discovered that he had cleared about four hundred pounds which he had put "into a brew house" in London in the name of another person. He was, therefore, discharged and left the Colony.

Chapter XXI

SEPARATISTS ARE BROUGHT FROM LEYDEN

IN pursuance of their secret plan, Bradford and his associates, in 1629, brought from Leyden thirty-five of their Separatist friends. They landed at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and came from there to Plymouth. In May 1630, another company of their friends from Leyden, came with Winthrop's fleet to Massachusetts Bay Colony, and from there to Plymouth. These two companies of friends from Leyden were poor, and without means, either to pay for their transportation or to support themselves after arriving at Plymouth. The cost to the Colony of their outfit and transportation was about five hundred and fifty pounds, and in addition they were a charge upon the Colony for about eighteen months after their arrival.

There was much complaint on the part of the Colonists because of this burden of supporting these new Brownist friends from Leyden. Bradford and his associates had, however, accomplished their "secrete" purpose of bringing them into the Colony. The expense of their transportation and maintenance for nearly eighteen months was paid out of the proceeds of the trading concession, which under the contract, should have been applied to the payment of the debts of the Colony.

The power of Bradford and his associates in the Colony, was greatly strengthened both in the Church and in the State by the addition of these Brownist friends from Leyden; their main object in bringing them into the Colony was thus accomplished.

In 1630, there were only three hundred persons in Plymouth Colony, and of these only sixty-eight had been admitted to the rank of freemen. Even a freeman was not allowed to own land in his own name in the Colony until 1640. Certain small tracts had been allotted to the freemen to use, cultivate and enjoy, prior to the termination of the contract with the Merchant Adventurers; but the title to the land remained in Bradford. Through this means, Bradford and his associates were able to retain absolute and exclusive control of the affairs of the Colony.

A new condition, however, confronted them, that threatened the Church and even the town of Plymouth.

A charter was granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629, to land adjoining the Plymouth Colony. Under this charter, there was a large emigration to New England by the Puritans. These new comers were neighbors of the Pilgrims; they needed corn, cattle and other supplies. The Plymouth Colonists in order to furnish these commodities began leaving Plymouth town, and "scattered all over ye Bay," in order to secure more land on which to raise corn and cattle. Bradford and his associates saw that, if this was continued Plymouth town would be deserted and the Church weakened. In order to prevent any further "scattering," the Governor and his associates refused to make allotments of land

at a distance from Plymouth town; they decided, however, to allot "some good farms to spetial persons that would promise to live at Plimoth, ** and so tie ye lands to Plimoth as farms for the same."

In pursuance of this plan, they allotted some "spetial lands" at Green Harbor, near Plymouth. "But alass! this remedy proved worse than ye disease." The plan was a failure; the farmers insisted on living on their farms; these farmers and others began to "breake away," and leave the town of Plymouth. A new town which they called "Duxbury" was soon established on the north side of the harbor. Captain Miles Standish moved from Plymouth to Duxbury.

Bradford said of this movement to leave Plymouth and settle in other places,—"This, I fear, will be ye ruine of New England, at least of ye Churches of God ther, and will provock ye Lord's displeasure against them."

Bradford feared that this "scattering" would end the dream of empire, which he, Brewster and Winslow had planned to establish in the New World, where they would be both spiritual and civil Rulers of the people.

Chapter XXII

COLONIAL CONTROVERSIES AND APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE COLONIES

AT this time,—in 1634,—the Governors and leaders of the various Colonies in New England became very much disturbed over the report that Charles the First, who succeeded to the throne of England on the death of his father, King James the First, had appointed a commission to investigate affairs in the Colonies.

By the year 1634, several Colonies had been established in New England. The Puritan and Pilgrim Governors and officials of these Colonies were ruling and governing them, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, without regard to the terms of their charters, or of the English laws. Many questions and disputes were continually arising as to the powers of the officials in the execution of the laws, in their internal affairs, and especially concerning the rights and powers of the respective Colonies in their relations to each other. Reports of these disputes had been sent home to England. It became necessary to create a commission that would have the right and power to hear, determine, and settle these controversies.

In order to "bring tranquility and quietness" in the Colonies, Charles the First created a "Commission for

Regulating Plantations." He appointed to this commission Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop of York, Richard, Earle of Portland and others. They were given power to "makes lawes, constitutions and ordinances," concerning lands, property, succession, and trade in the Colonies, to regulate their affairs with "foraigne princes," and those pertaining to "ye clergic governmente or to ye care of souls," and "to make provision against ye violation of these laws." The Commissioners were given power to remove "Governors or Rulers" for cause which the Commissioners deemed sufficient, also to create courts, and to appoint "Judges and Magistrates, political and civil, for civil causes," and "Judges, Magistrates and Dignities" in "Ecclesiastical" causes, and, generally, to "hear and determine ** all manner of complaints, either against the Colonies or their Rulers or Governors."

An interference with their rule, either civil or ecclesiastical, was the last thing, which the Governors of the New England Colonies desired. Thomas Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, at this time wrote a letter to Governor Prence of Plymouth Colony concerning the disputes between the respective Colonies. In this letter he says, that the news of this commission "wroughte divers fears of some trials, which are shortly like to fall upon us;" therefore, it seemed most desirable to "defer action in order to avoid a common danger to us both approaching."

Plymouth Colony had become involved in trouble with the French east of them. The French had entered upon the lands claimed by the Plymouth Colonists under their

patent, and seized one of their houses, carried away their goods, killed two men, and taken others prisoners. They had, also, for some time been having trouble with the Dutch on the Connecticut river.

Although the Colony was now in a prosperous condition, yet many difficulties arose through the ambitious desires of Bradford and his associates to extend the activities of the Colony, outside the limits of their patent. They selected a site on the Connecticut river, outside the limits of their patent, about fifty miles north of its mouth at the place where Hartford now stands, as suitable for a plantation and trading post. Winslow and Bradford tried to induce the Massachusetts Bay Colony to join them, but they refused to do so, for there were too many dangers, both from the Indians, and Dutch who had already established a post there.

The Plymouth Company determined to proceed in the enterprise alone. When the Dutch learned of this, they built a forte and planted there two pieces of ordinance to stop their passage up the river. The Plymouth Company fitted out a boat with all necessaries for a trading post, and started up the river. When they came to the Dutch post, they were threatened by the Dutch, but claiming their right to proceed under a commission from the Governor of Plymouth, they were allowed to continue. On coming to the place where Windsor now stands, they built a house and fortified it. This came near involving them in war with the Dutch, who sent an expedition of seventy men against them; as the Plymouth men were well fortified, after a parley, the Dutch force was with-

drawn. This venture, however, was a failure and the post was, finally, abandoned.

In 1634, they became involved in a very serious difficulty over what they claimed was their exclusive right under their patent, to trade with the Indians on the Kennebec river.

One Hocking, commanding a vessel from Piscatauqua, a plantation belonging to Lord Saybrook, came up the river for the purpose of trading with the Indians above the trading post of the Plymouth Colony, but outside the Plymouth patent. The Plymouth Commander forbade Hocking going above their post, as he would thus intercept the trade with the Indians that would, otherwise, come to the Plymouth post. Hocking insisted on his right to trade above the Plymouth Post, and continuing, anchored above the limits of the Plymouth patent; the Plymouth Commander ordered his men to cut the cable and set the vessel adrift, which they did; Hocking then shot and killed one of the Plymouth men, whereupon a Plymouth man shot Hocking, killing him.

John Alden was at the Kennebec post at the time of the killing of Hocking, where he had been sent with supplies for the Plymouth men. Soon after this, Alden was sent to the Bay of Massachusetts, where he was seized and committed to prison. What authority the Massachusetts Bay Company had to arrest and confine Alden in prison for killing Hocking, does not appear. Captain Standish was sent to Massachusetts Bay to obtain his release; this was accomplished, but a bond was required from Standish obligating himself to appear at the next term

of court, to produce a copy of the patent, and explain the circumstances of the killing of Hocking. The trial was, finally, had before Representatives of all the Plantations to whom the case was referred by agreement between the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colonies. This commission found that the killing of Hocking was justified, as "his own conduct provoked it," and Alden was aquitted.

A further calamity fell upon the Colony this year. An "infectious fever" broke out, from which over twenty persons died.

Edward Winslow was now, in 1635, sent to England to appeal to the "Commissioners for the Plantations in America," praying the Lords, either to "procure peace with those Foraigne States, or else to give special warrant to the Plymouth Colony, and ye English Colonies ** to defend themselves against all Foraigne enemies."

The wiser heads in the other Colonies did not approve of this petition. They thought that the wiser course was to do nothing to invite interference by the English Government with their rule in the Colonies. Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony says, that it was "undertaken by ill advice, for such precedents might endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing but by commission out of England." The Puritan Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, did not want their civil or their church policies disturbed.

The Archbishop was favorable to Winslow's petition, as it was his desire and purpose to send some one to New England clothed with "Episcopal power to disturb the peace of ye churches" there, and "to overthrow their proceedings and further growth."

Winslow thought that his plans were prospering, but his visit to England proved to be very disastrous to him. At the hearing of his petition, before the Lord's High Commissioners, the Bishop began to question him concerning the Church at Plymouth. He was accused of teaching, i. e.—preaching—publicly in the church; he admitted that, as they had no minister, "he did exercise his gift to help the edification of his brethren." The further charge was made against him that he, not being a minister, performed the ceremony of marriage; he answered that as a Magistrate he "had sometimes married some, ** that marriage was a civil thing, and he found nowher in ye word of God that it was tyed to ministrie;" that he "had been so married himselfe in Holland by ye Magistrate in their Statt-House."

It is difficult to reconcile the inconsistent position taken by these Pilgrim Fathers. They were on English territory, and even now Winslow was claiming the protection of his Majesty, whom they recognized as both temporal and spiritual Ruler of England and the English Colonies, against their "Foraigne enemies." They knew that under the laws of England, marriage was more than a civil contract; that it had a spiritual significance, and was a religious right under the laws of the Church and State; that only a clergyman could perform the ceremony, and that the laws and customs of Holland could have no binding force, and did not obtain in English territory.

Winslow had broken the laws of his King and country. He was found guilty and was committed to prison,—in "ye Fleete." He remained in prison over four months.

Plymouth Colony had been making grants of land to various parties for settlements in the territory covered by their patent. The title, however, was retained by William Bradford. A settlement had been made at Scituate, and another bordering on "their neighbors of ye Massachusetts." A dispute arose between the Colonists under the Plymouth grant, and those of the Massachusetts Bay Colony as to their boundary line; they desired to avoid submitting this controvresy to the "Commissioners of Plantations." A commission was, therefore, appointed, consisting of two men from each Colony, to settle this dispute. In 1640, the Commissioners made an agreement fixing "ye bounds betwixte Plimoth and Massachusetts," without the intervention of the Royal Commissioners of Plantations.

The country around Plymouth was barren, so that both the old settlers there as well as "new comers," located in various parts of the Plymouth territory. Settlements had been made at Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marshfield, Seacunke, afterwards called Rehoboth, and Nawsett; but these settlers had no title to the lands held by them; they now brought proceedings against William Bradford, who held the title under the patent, and obtained an order of court, directing him to convey to them their respective parcels of land. Under this order William Bradford made deeds to the settlers to the various tracts of land which each had bought.

Chapter XXIII

THE CONFEDERATION

BY the year 1643, several different "Plantations" had been established in New England, viz,—New Plimoth, Bay of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, Maine, Providence and Rhode Island. In this year, four of these Plantations, i. e., New Plimoth, Bay of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven formed a Confederation to be called by "ye name of the United Colonies of New England." This Confederation was "for offense and defense," for the preservation and propagation of "ye truth of ye gospel, and for their own mutual saftie and welfare." The Maine, Providence, and Rhode Island Plantations were refused admission to this federation, because their broader religious views were not in harmony with the narrow and exclusive theological opinions of the members of the Confederation.

The Articles of Confederation provided, among other things, for the joint prosecution of war, whether offensive or defensive, the number of soldiers each plantation should furnish, the sharing of the expense, and, also, for a division of the spoils of war, "whether it be in lands, goods *or persons* ** among ye said Confederates."

The Confederation was to be managed by two commissioners from each Plantation, "*being all in Church fellow-*

ship with us." These Commissioners were given power to "determine all affairs of war or peace, and the charges and numbers of men for war, *division of spoyles, and whatever is gotten by conquest,* ** to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature" in cases where all Plantations were interested; to preserve peace amongst themselves; to determine how each Plantation should conduct itself toward the Indians,—"that they neither grow insolent, nor be injured without due satisfaction.

The irony of providing in these Articles of Confederation, both for the "preserving and propagating ye truth of ye gospel," and for a war of conquest and a division of the "spoyles of war," not only of lands, goods and property, but, also, of the *persons* of prisoners captured did not occur to these Pilgrims and Puritans. They did nothing toward "propagating ye truth of ye gospel." On the contrary, they divided between them, as slaves, Indians taken prisoners in war, and at times sold these Indians to the slave traders for the Barbadoes.

The Commissioners did not confine themselves to affairs affecting the four Plantations. They assumed jurisdiction over many other matters. In disputes between various Indian tribes, they assumed the power to act, and make findings in favor of one tribe against its disputant, and to take steps to enforce their decree.

In 1662, New Haven Colony was absorbed by Connecticut. The Confederacy of the four Colonies, viz:—Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, now ceased to function; though the Commissioners of the

three Colonies met occasionally, yet they accomplished nothing. The last meeting of the Commissioners was held in 1684.

During the existence of the Confederation, with the exception of the settlement of some boundary disputes and the prosecution of Indian Wars, little had been accomplished for the common good of the Colonies.

Chapter XXIV

DEATH OF WILLIAM BRADFORD, AND DECADENCE OF PLYMOUTH COLONY

BRADFORD'S history of Plymouth Colony ends with the year 1648. He died in 1657, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was one of the few Pilgrim Fathers who had any education. During a period of thirty-seven years, he was most prominent in all affairs of the Colony, both civil and religious. He was Governor of the Colony from March 1621 to 1649, except five years, and he was an assistant during those five years. As Governor, he was practically the Ruler, both of the Independent Church and of the civil government.

The right of franchise was not dependent on membership in the Church, but only freemen could vote and only such as Bradford desired, were admitted to freemanship. No person was permitted to "live and inhabit within the government of New Plymouth without the leave or liking of the Governor or two of his assistants at least." Bradford says, "Touching our government, ** we do not admit women and children ** neither do we admit any but such as are above the age of twenty-one years, and they, also, but only in some weighty matters, when we think good."

He was rigorous in the punishment of those who were

undesirable, or who did not observe the rules adopted by him and his assistants for the regulation of the Colony, both in civil and religious matters. He knew no difference between men and women in administering the laws; he was equally severe in the punishment of both.

His history does not show that he encouraged or fostered education in the Colony, nor sought the spiritual welfare of the people. He procured no minister until 1629, and no church was built until 1648; no religious service, except that of the Separatist Church, was permitted in the Colony. His quotations from the old Testament are frequent, and breathe a religious tone, but the spirit of the Divine Master never found lodgement in his heart. His history is written in a temperate and almost a gentle spirit, whether recording ordinary events or happenings in the Colony, or reciting the massacre by sword and fire of their "enemies the Pequods," and of the "sweete sacrifice" of "ye victory."

He knew no mercy in his treatment of the Indians; he treated them with military rigor and cruelty, even to their enslavement as spoils of war. He sent an expedition, under Captain Miles Standish, to capture an Indian Chief, Corbitant, with orders to cut off his head, if they found him guilty of the charges against him. In another expedition, Captain Standish cut off the head of the Indian, Wituwamet, and carried it to Plymouth, where it was fixed on a pike on the church-fortress, that it might be viewed by the entire Colony.

The Separatists did not permit religious services at the burial of their dead. Consequently, there was no burial

service for Bradford. His rule had been rather military than religious, and his funeral service was of the same character.

The decadence of Plymouth Colony became more noticeable after the death of William Bradford, and in a few years passed out of existence as a separate Colony.

The Train Band escorted his body to the grave, several volleys were fired, and the mortal remains of Governor Bradford were left to mingle with the dust from whence they came.

In 1649, Charles the First was beheaded, and the Commonwealth became the ruling power in England and her Colonies.

New Plymouth was "unaspiring and poor." It was deemed wise, therefore, "to keep on good terms," with the ruling power. The Colonists recognized the new Commonwealth, and in 1652 "kept a day of thanksgiving" for "Cromwell's victory at Worcester."

In 1658, there were eleven towns scattered over the Plymouth territory, but in all these towns there were only three hundred freemen. The result could not have been otherwise, under the narrow and selfish policies of Bradford and his associates. "No person could become an inhabitant without the permission of the authorities, and the right of expulsion was freely exercised." Their efforts were directed, not to the growth and development of the Colony, but to the perpetuation of themselves as rulers of New Plymouth."

The death of Cromwell, on September 3, 1658, succeeded by his son in a short reign, was followed by the restoration of Charles the Second in 1660.

The laws of Uniformity were re-enacted; In England the use of the Prayer Book was enforced, and every minister was required to consent thereto.

In 1665, Royal Commissioners were sent to the Colonies to investigate conditions, settle disputes, and receive acknowledgments of fealty to the new King.

The Royal Commissioners required of Plymouth that "all householders should take the oath of allegiance, that courts should be held in the King's name, that the franchise should not depend on religious opinion, that the Christian ordinances should be free to all persons of orthodox opinions, competent knowledge, and civil lives, not scandalous," and that "all laws and expressions of laws, derogatory to his Majesty, should be repealed."

Plymouth Colony had grown weak and impotent; it promptly agreed to these conditions, and "did most humbly and faithfully submit and oblige themselves forever to his Majesty, his heirs and successors."

Plymouth Colony, under the control of and dominated by a few men with but very little education, experience or ability, but with all absorbing ambition to build up a civil government, failed to grow or prosper, either materially or religiously. While not a theocracy, yet the Church was the nucleus and basis for an autocracy ruled by Bradford for several years. From the time of the appointment of five assistants to the Governor, until Plymouth was incorporated into Massachusetts, in 1691, it was an oligarchy.

In 1665, after nearly half a century, there were only twelve small plantations or settlements with five thousand

people in the entire territory of Plymouth Colony. The most of these had come from the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut Colonies; yet Plymouth was the first permanent Colony in New England. At this time, 1665, even Connecticut had ten thousand and Massachusetts Bay had twenty-five thousand inhabitants.

Plymouth had neither developed agriculture, business or industry; it had not fostered education or enjoyed religious or civil freedom. It was a failure as a Colony.

Chapter XXV

PLYMOUTH INCORPORATED IN THE "PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND"

THROUGH the weakness of Plymouth Colony, it outwardly, at least, submitted to the rule of Charles the Second. The Rulers made no change, however, in their civil or religious policies.

Other New England Colonies, notably Massachusetts, were defiant toward the Mother Country. The Regicides, Whalley and Goff, after the restoration, fled to Massachusetts, and found refuge and protection under the Puritan government. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, under the leadership of strong and able men, had grown in industries, wealth and importance. The Colony assumed the right to rule independently of the King, though living under a patent granted them by Charles the First.

Charles the Second, therefore, determined to revoke the charter of the New England Colonies. An Action was brought against the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and a decree was entered in favor of the Crown in 1684, forfeiting and annulling its patent.

Charles the Second died in 1685, and was succeeded by James the Second, who adopted the policies of Charles, In pursuance thereof, the King, in the latter part of 1686.

appointed Sir Edmund Andros, Governor, and he came to Boston "bearing a commission for the government of all New England." The Colonies were consolidated by him under the title of "The Dominion of New England."

The reign of James the Second was very short. In 1688, he was driven from the throne by the English Revolution, and William and Mary were made King and Queen of England in 1689.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony now presented a petition to William and Mary praying that a charter be granted the Colony. Plymouth Colony, having failed in its attempt to obtain a charter from the King, now desired to be incorporated in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

In 1691, the King and Queen granted a charter uniting and incorporating therein the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Maine and Nova Scotia and some other land, into one province under the name of the "Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England." The history of Plymouth Colony from this time (1691) was merged in that of Massachusetts.

This charter gave to them all of the rights, privileges and powers, including the right of fanchise, of free British subjects. Under this charter all of the Plymouth Colonists for the first time in its history, enjoyed both religious and civil liberty. They now, after nearly three quarters of a century, possessed the same rights and powers that the Virginia Colonists had enjoyed since 1619.

The charter provided for a Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Secretary, to be appointed by the King, and twenty-eight counsellors or assistants. The charter

further provided for a Great and General Assembly to consist of the Governor and Council or assistants, and a House of Representatives of such freeholders of the Province, as shall from time to time, be elected or deputed by the major part of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the respective towns or places, who shall be present at such election; each of said towns or places being empowered "to elect and depute two persons and no more, to serve for and represent them respectively in the Great and General Assembly." After 1693, the twenty-eight counsellors or assistants were to be newly chosen each year by the General Court or Assembly. Eighteen counsellors were to be elected from the original Colony of Massachusetts Bay, four from New Plymouth, three from the Province of Maine, and one "at the least" from the territory between the river of Sadagehack and Nova Scotia.

The General Court or Assembly was given the power to make "laws, statutes and ordinances ** so as the same be not repugnant or contrary to the laws ** of England." The Governor, however, was given the power of veto, and no law or act passed or done by the Assembly was to be of any force or effect, unless approved by the Governor in writing. All laws passed by the Assembly were to be reported to the King, and the right reserved by him to reject or disallow any law. If, however, he failed to do so in three years after the same was presented to him, then such law was to stand in full force and effect.

This charter contained a provision that is significant, when we remember the claim made for the Separatists

that they came to the New World to find religious freedom. Religious liberty, denied by the Pilgrims and Puritans, was unknown in New England until granted by this charter in 1691, by King William and Queen Mary, in the following language,—"We do grant, establish, and ordain, that forever hereafter there shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all Christians (except papists) inhabiting, or which shall inhabit, or be residents within our said Province or Territory."

The Pilgrims and Puritans had denied civil rights to all Colonists except to a chosen few. This charter provided that every subject coming to or inhabiting the territory and "their children born there, or on the seas in going hither or returinng from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any of the dominions" of England.

Religious and civil liberty, denied English subjects in Plymouth Colony under the autocratic and oligarchic rule of the Pilgrim Fathers, was now assured to them "forever." Emancipation came to the Colonists of Plymouth Colony through this charter granted by the King and Queen of England,—the Heads of the Established Church.

Chapter XXVI

PILGRIMS AND THE INDIANS

ONE of the reasons given by Bradford for their removal to the New World was an "inward zeall ** of laying some good foundation ** for ye propagating and advancing ye gospel of ye Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world;" this same thought was expressed in the Articles of Confederation of the Colonies. Notwithstanding this express purpose, they came bringing no message of love, friendship, or peace to the Indians, but a war of subjugation and conquest.

They had heard that the inhabitants of the New World were "cruel, barbarous and most treacherous," who delighted "to tormente men in ye most bloody manner." The Pilgrims, therefore, came prepared, not to convert, but to subjugate the savages. They employed Captain Miles Standish, a military commander, and brought with them armour, swords, guns, cannon and ammunition. They came prepared for war.

For some time after arriving at Plymouth, they saw but few Indians, and these fled at the approach of the white men. On account of an epidemic, they learned that many Indians had died, and Plymouth and the country around had been deserted by them. In December, 1620, while a party, fully armed with cutlass, armour and

guns, was exploring the coast the Indians attacked them with arrows; a volley from the guns of the Pilgrims "quickly stopped their violence;" one valiant Indian stood behind a tree and "let his arrows flie at them," but without hurting anyone; a shot, however, from a musket, which splintered the bark of a tree, dislodged him, after which they "went away." It was afterward learned that this attack was by Indians belonging to a tribe that had been wronged by Englishmen a few years before. In 1614, Captain Hunt, the master of one of the ships of Captain John Smith, then engaged in exploring the coast, had kidnapped several Indians, taken them to Spain and sold them as slaves.

About the middle of March, an Indian "came bouldly amongst them;" he could talk broken English, which he had learned from some English fishing parties on the coast; his name was Samoset; he was friendly, and gave the settlers much valuable information. He departed, but soon came again with five more Indians. At this visit, the way was prepared for the coming of their "great Sachem, Massasoit." Four or five days later, Massasoit with a body of attendants came to Plymouth; with them was an Indian, called by Bradford, Squanto; he was one of the Indians that had been kidnapped by Captain Hunt and taken to England. During his captivity, he had learned to speak English, and now acted as interpreter at this meeting between the English and Massasoit.

"After friendly entertainment, and some gifts given them," the Governor made a treaty of peace with this Indian Chief. By this treaty it was agreed by Massasoit:

1. "That neither he, nor any of his should injure nor hurt" any of the English.

2. That if they did, the offender should be sent to the English for punishment.

3. That if the Indians stole anything from the English, it should be restored to them, and they, the English would do likewise.

4. If any unjust war should be made against Massasoit, they would aid him, and if any should war against the English, he should aid them.

5. That he would send notice of this treaty of peace to the neighboring tribes, that they might, also, make treaties of peace with the English.

6. That when the Indians came to them, they would leave their "bowes and arrows" behind.

Massasoit faithfully kept his covenant of peace with the English settlers until his death—a period of forty years.

Squanto was a faithful and invaluable friend to the Plymouth Colonists; he instructed them in the planting and raising of corn and was their guide, interpreter and messenger to the Indians. He died in September 1622, while acting as guide and interpreter for Captain Standish and a party of men who were sent on a mission to buy corn from the Indians.

The Colonists invited Massasoit and his tribe to the first Thanksgiving feast in the New World in 1621. Ninety Indians came to this feast and remained for three days, spending the time in feasting, outdoor sports, "singing and dancing."

In 1621, the Narragansetts sent a messenger to the Colonists with a bundle of arrows tied about with a great snake skin; this was interpreted as a challenge and threat of war. The Governor sent back the snake skin with bullets in it. He, also, sent "them a round answer, that if they had rather have warre than peace" they could have it.

An Indian, called Hobamack, came to live with them; he was ever faithful and constant "to ye English till he died." Squanto and Hobamack were sent on business for the Colony to the Indians. An Indian Sachem, Corbitant, attempted to stab Hobamack, who escaped, and reported to the Governor that he feared Squanto had been killed. The Governor then sent Captain Standish and fourteen men, well armed, against the Indians, with instructions that, if they found Squanto had been killed, they should cut off Corbitant's head. They found Squanto alive, but three Indians were wounded, while they were trying to escape from the Englishmen.

The next act of cruelty of the Pilgrim Fathers to the Indians arose under the following circumstances,—Thomas Weston in 1622, had established a Colony at Wessagussett on Massachusetts Bay. They were improvident, and soon fell into dire necessity for food. They had wronged the Indians by stealing their corn. Bradford says, that they "fell to plaine stealing both by day and night from the Indians." These, with other wrongs, so incensed the Indians that they entered into a conspiracy to "cut off Mr. Weston's people for the continual injuries which they did them." A messenger now came from

Weston's men to Plymouth, and reported their condition and their danger. Captain Standish and some men were sent to the relief of Weston's men, whom they found in a "miserable condition out of which he rescued them," and "cut off some few of ye chief conspirators."

Captain John Smith adds some facts about this relief expedition omitted by Bradford. Smith says, that the Pilgrim Fathers "appointed Standish with eight chosen men, under color of trade" to catch the Indians in their own trap. The savages suspected that their plot against Weston's men was discovered, and Pecksniff, one of the chief conspirators, came to Hobamack, the friendly Indian who was with Standish, and said to him, "tell Standish we know he is come to kill us, but let him begin when he dare." Pecksniff and another chief conspirator, Wittuwamet, were insolent and threatening. Finally, Captain Standish with his company about him, succeeding in getting Pecksniff, Wittuwamet and two other Indians in a room, where they murdered Pecksniff, Wittuwamett and the two other Indians; they, also, hung a youth—a brother of Wittuwamett—and the next day slew three other Indians. The Indians were so terrified by Standish and his men, that they left their habitations and fled to the swamps, where many died from "cold and infinite diseases." Captain Standish cut off the head of Wittuwamett, carried it to Plymouth, and fixed this "ghastly trophy of conquest" on a pole on the fort.

Evidently, the Pilgrim Fathers did not send to Holland an account of the murder of these Indians by Captain Standish and his Company. Pastor Robinson heard of

these murders from others; when he heard of it "at first by report and since by more certain relation," he wrote Governor Bradford a letter deploring and condemning it saying,—"Concerning ye killing of these poor Indians ** Oh, How happy had it been if you had converted some before you had killed any, ** besides where blud is once begun to shed, it is seldom stanched for a long time." He, also, adds a word concerning Captain Standish, who had been trained in the Low Countries in the barbarous methods and cruelties of the war with Spain; he says, "there may be wanting that tenderness of ye life of man ** which is meete. **** It is, also, a thing more glorious in men's eyes, than pleasing in God's or convenient for Christians, to be a terror to poore barbarous people."

The threatening attitude of the Indians toward Weston's men had been provoked and invited by the injuries they had received from them. The inhuman and barbarous treatment and murder of these Indians by Standish and his armed men under color of trading, and the terror which they inspired that drove their families to the swamp to die of cold and disease was without justification. Terrorizing the Indians was the policy of the Pilgrim Fathers.

In 1634, an epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Indian tribes, living on the Connecticut river north of the trading post of Plymouth Colony, from which one half of the members of one tribe, and great numbers of other tribes, died.

The English settlers in New England had their first Indian war in 1637. This war was with the Pequods; it

was provoked by the ill treatment of the Indians by Englishmen. The Pequod tribe lived in Connecticut territory on the Connecticut river at a great distance, and separated from Plymouth territory by the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The first difficulty with this tribe grew out of the killing of Captain Stone by them in 1624. Captain Stone, a disreputable fellow, sailing the seas from the West Indies to New England in quest of adventure and conquest was equally ready to steal a ship and property, or commit murder.

In 1634, Captain Stone, with a company sailed up the Connecticut river. Bradford says, "I know not for what occasion ** nor how he carried" himself toward the Indians, but the Indians knocked him in the head and killed the rest of his Company. The Indians claimed that Captain Stone surprised and seized two of their men and "bound them," and nine Indians watched them, and killed Stone and his company while they were asleep, in order to rescue the Indians from Stone.

These Indians soon quarreled with the Dutch, who lived near them; in this quarrel the Dutch "slew the chief Sachem." They had, also, quarreled with the Narragansetts, a tribe "bordering on them." The Pequods knowing they had killed an Englishman, Captain Stone, had quarreled with the Dutch and with their neighboring tribe, the Narragansetts, now sought the friendship of the English of Massachusetts. To that end, they sent the Massachusetts Bay Colony gifts of wampum and beaver.

Governor Winthrop, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, now "concluded a peace and friendship with them, upon these conditions,—that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stone's death. And if we desired to plant in Connecticut, they should give up their right to us, and so we would send to trade with them as our friends." Winthrop adds, *that this trade "was ye cheefe thing we aimed at."* To these conditions the Indians readily agreed, asking, however, "that we should mediate a peace between them and the Narragansetts."

In 1636, John Oldham, an inhabitant of Massachusetts, while on a trading expedition to the Indians, quarreled with them and was killed. Oldham's murderers fled to the Pequods who refused to surrender them to the English. Governor Vane, of Massachusetts, now sent Mr. Endicott with a party of ninety men to demand satisfaction of the Pequods for the murder of Oldham and four other traders. This was Endicott's first mission of this kind; he fell upon the Indians, killed some of them, and burned their wigwams; this only embittered the Indians; it meant war. The Indians retaliated by assaulting, killing and mutilating some, and burning buildings and killing cattle. A band of Pequods attacked Wethersfield, "killed seven men, a woman and child, and carried away two girls." The Pequods now attempted to induce the Narragansetts to join them in their war against the English. Through the good influences, however, of Roger Williams, the Narragansetts refused to enter the war.

The distressed Colonists in Connecticut, now appealed to Massachusetts and Plymouth for aid. Massachusetts

dispatched a force of twenty men under Captain John Underhill, who arrived in time to assist in the attack on the Indians. Plymouth agreed to send fifty men, but before they were ready to march, news was received of the defeat of the Indians. The men from Massachusetts and Connecticut surrounded the fort of the Pequods, and entered the fort through openings in the palisades in the night; the Indians were surprised and taken unaware; the English set fire to the wigwams and burned many men, women and children alive. Bradford says, "that more were burned to death than was otherwise slain." Those that escaped the fire were slain with the sword, "some hewed to pieces, others run through with their rapiers. It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in ye fire, and ye streams of blood quenching ye same. But ye victory seemed a sweete sacrifice, and they gave the prays to God." About four hundred Indians were slain.

The next day, another body of about three hundred Pequods approached from another fort. On discovering the English they retreated, and being pursued, fled and took refuge in a swamp. The English hunted them down and killed all of them, except some women and children whom they captured.

These prisoners were regarded as spoils of war. Some were sold as slaves to their ancient enemies,—the Mohicans and Narragansett tribes, and some were distributed among the English Colonists; the women and maid children were "disposed about in ye town," and the "male children to Bermuda." The wife and children of Mono-

notti, a Sachem, were among the prisoners. She was a "woman of a very modest countenance and behavior. One of her requests was, that the English would not abuse her body, and that her children might not be taken from her."

This was a short but bloody war. "There had been slaine and taken prisoner in all about 700." But few escaped. Through a most inhuman and blood thirsty cruelty, seldom, if ever, equalled by savages, the Pequod tribe became extinct, and Connecticut took possession of their lands.

In 1643, the English had a difficulty with the Indians, which came near involving them in another Indian war. This grew out of an assumption on the part of the Commissioners of the Confederated Colonies, that they had the right to settle disputes between the Indian tribes.

The Narragansetts and the Mohicans had been allies of the Colonies in the Pequod war. The Narragansetts, having a difficulty with the Mohicans, their Chief, Miantinomo, sought the death of Uncass, Chief of the Mohicans, by hiring someone "to kill him." Failing in this, the Narragansetts with an army of nine hundred men, suddenly, fell upon the Mohicans. The Narragansetts were defeated in battle, and their Chief, Miantinomo, was taken prisoner by the Mohicans. Uncass then sought the advice of the Commissioners of the Confederated Colonies as to putting Miantinomo to death. The Commissioners decided that since Uncass "could not be safe whilst Miantinomo lived," that "he, Uncass, might justly put such a false and blood thirstie enemie to death."

Their judgment carried with it a recommendation that his execution should not be one of "torture and cruelty" as practiced by the Indians. Uncass thereupon executed his enemy "in a very fair manner ** with due respect to his honor and greatness."

This execution of the Chief on the advice of the English, even though he was sent to his death in a royal manner, did not bring peace, either between the Indian tribes, or to the English; on the contrary, the Narragansetts became bitter enemies of the English, whom they regarded as responsible for the death of their Chief.

The next year, the Narragansetts became threatening and hostile, and murdered several English settlers in the Connecticut plantation. They next fell upon the Mohicans and slew some of them. Uncass appealed to the English for protection. Again the Commissioners assumed jurisdiction to hear and settle disputes between these Indian tribes; they summoned the "Sagamores," both of the Mohicans and Narragansetts, to appear for a trial of their disputes before the Commissioners. Both tribes responded to the summons, and sent their Sachems to appear before the Commissioners for trial; the Commissioners again found the issues in favor of their friend, Uncass.

The Narragansetts only partially accepted the verdict. They agreed for themselves and the Nyanticks "that no hostile acts should be committed upon Uncass or any of his tribes, until after ye next planting of corn," and that they would "give 30 days warning to ye Governor of Massachusetts or Connecticut." Uncass, also, agreed to observe the same terms of peace with the Narragansetts.

Neither of the tribes kept this agreement. In 1645, what Bradford calls "underhand assaults were made on both sides;" the Narragansetts then "gathered a great power and fell upon Uncass," killing and wounding many of his tribe. The English came to the aid of Uncass and saved his tribe from extermination.

The Commissioners then sent messengers to the Narragansetts and Uncass to command them to come, or send persons to explain to the Commissioners their conduct in not observing the terms of the peace agreement; further, that if the Narragansetts refused or delayed, the English would send a force to defend Uncass. This hostile message from the English produced the usual result. In response, the Narragansetts returned a threatening message; the Commissioners were warned that the Narragansetts and other Indian tribes were preparing, and that "war would presently break forth and the whole country would be all aflame."

The Commissioners, thereupon, proceeded to raise three hundred men from the four Confederated Colonies to send against the Indians. The Narragansetts, hearing of this, again fell upon Uncass and "gave him another blow;" they said " they were resolved to have no peace without Uncass head;" that unless the English would "withdraw their garrison from Uncass, that they would procure the help of the Mohawks; that they would lay ye English cattle on heaps as high as their houses, and that no Englishman should stir out of his door, but he should be killed." The English again sent messengers to the Narragansetts with instructions, to say, that if they would

make reparation for the past and give good security for the future, the English would be "as tender of ye Narragansetts' blood as ever;" but, "that if they would have nothing but war, the English are providing and will proceed accordingly." Within a few days the principal Sachems of the Narragansetts with a large train of men, came to Boston.

Another treaty of peace was made between the Indian tribes and the Commissioners. This treaty provided, among other things, that the Narragansetts should pay to the Commissioners, in satisfaction of the expenses of the war, "2000 fathome of good white wampum, payable in installments, the whole to be paid within two years;" that all "captives, men, women and children," taken, either by the Narragansetts and Nyantics, or by Uncass, should be restored to their respective tribes; that the Narragansetts and Nyantics should "keep and maintain a firm and perpetual peace, both with the English Colonies, with Uncass and all other Indian tribes friendly to or *subject to ye English;*" that the Narragansetts and Nyantics would not "give, grant, sell or in any manner alienate any part of their country, nor any parcel of land either to any of ye English or other, *without consent or allowance of ye Commissioners.*"

There is no justification for this treatment of the Narragansetts by the Pilgrims and Puritans. They assumed the right to interfere in the quarrels between Miantonomo, the Narragansett Chief, and Uncass; they espoused the cause of Uncass, and sent the Narragansett Chief to his death; although both tribes had agreed to keep the

peace, yet Uncass and the Narragansetts were equally guilty of making "underhand" assaults on each other. Uncass, when defeated by the Narragansetts, always appealed to the English, who, invariaby, came to his relief. There could have been but one result,—the threat of war upon the English settlers by the Narragansetts. When the army of 300 men, armed with guns and swords, was ready to march against the Indians, armed only with bows and arrows, the Narragansetts, remembering the cruel fate of the Pequods, made this treaty of peace. The English though the aggressors, forced this treaty by which the Indians agreed, not only to pay the cost of preparation of war by the English, but, also, surrendered to the English the control of their lands.

The English, for nearly fifty years, pursued the policy of subjugation, and maintained their supremacy over the Indians by force of arms. But the untutored savage did not forget. Under King Philip, they visited upon the English settlers terrific punishment for the wrongs of half a century.

Chapter XXVII

KING PHILIP'S WAR

MASSASOIT died in 1662. He remained faithful until his death to the treaty made in 1621, with the Pilgrim Fathers.

Massasoit's tribe lived in the southwestern part of the territory covered by the last patent granted to Plymouth; the Colony, therefore, claimed that his tribe were subjects of the Colony, and exercised over them all the powers of rulers over subjects.

Massasoit left two sons surviving him—Alexander and Philip. He was succeeded by his son Alexander. After the death of his father, reports came that Alexander was plotting against the Colony. The Governor ordered his arrest, and that he be brought before the Court at Plymouth to answer the charge. Alexander cleared himself of the charge, and, either before, or just after leaving Plymouth, became ill, and died before reaching home. "The Indians suspected that he had been poisoned."

Philip, on the death of his brother, Alexander, became Chief of the tribe. For more than twelve years, he kept peace with the Colony, though from time to time there were rumors of disaffection on his part. He had many just causes of complaint against the Colonists; he felt, especially, bitter, because of the unjust arrest and death

of his brother under suspicious circumstances. The English persistently encroached upon the land of the tribe, and they were being constantly confined within narrower limits. "Of all their ancient domain, Massasoit's tribe of Indians, the Wampanoags, had nothing left, but the two narrow peninsulas of Bristol and Taunton on the eastern coast of Narragansett Bay." Philip's people were hedged in by the sea on the east and south, and by other tribes on the north and west. There was no land adjoining to which they could farther retreat. The Plymouth Colonists had taken possession of land which was needed for the support of Philip's people.

It has been said, with truth, that the Indians did not own all the land in the New World; that there was a surplus, and the English had the right to possess themselves of it. But the fact remains, that the English subjugated and drove Massasoit's tribe from the land which they had possessed from time immemorial, and which they needed for their support. Nor can it be claimed that the Pilgrims needed King Philip's land for the settlers of Plymouth Colony; the territory covered by their patent was a large one, and the number of settlers in Plymouth Colony were too few to justify such a contention.

The following are some of the restrictive and oppressive laws of the Colonial governments concerning the rights and lands of the Indians. In 1643, Plymouth Court made an order, providing that "no person should purchase, rent or hire any land, herbage, wood or timber of the Indians but by the Magistrate's consent." In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a law was enacted,—"that no

person, whatsoever, shall henceforth buy land of any Indian without license first had and obtained of the General Court." Another one provided, that no *foreigner* was permitted to "*trade with any Indian within the limits of our jurisdiction.*"

It has been said, that these laws were enacted to protect the ignorant Indian from designing and unprincipled men. That the motive of the English, however, was purely selfish is shown by the following enactment in 1657. "And because the trade of furs with the Indians in this jurisdiction *doth properly belong to the Commonwealth*, and not to any particular person,—It is ordered that no person ** shall trade for any sort of peltry, except such as are authorized by this Court." Laws were, also, enacted in Plymouth, prohibiting any one from selling barques, boats and horses to the Indians; that the Indians should not engage in working, fishing, fowling, planting, killing or carrying burdens on the Lord's Day. King Philip could not even buy a horse without first obtaining the consent of the Plymouth Court. The following is from the Plymouth Colony record for 1665,—"Upon the earnest request of Philip, the Indian Sachem of Pocanocutt, for to have liberty to buy a horse within our jurisdiction, the Court have bestowed a horse on him, as judging it meeter than to give him liberty to buy one."

Philip was a man of superior intelligence, brave, though not rash. He knew that, as the English had grown strong, his tribe had become weak; that with their fire arms, war meant extermination of his tribe. King Philip's war was the result of their accumulated wrongs of many

years, which culminated in July 1675, by an Indian attack on the village of Swanzea. Other Indian tribes joined in the uprising. For more than a year, the Indians terrorized, killed and tortured the settlers, captured and carried into captivity their women and children, burned their houses and destroyed cattle and property.

The English Colonists carried war into the Indian country. Nor were they less merciless in savagery than the Indians. At one place the Wampanoags, sometimes called the Pocanokets, and the Narragansetts had built a fort on an island. There were 3000 Indians in this fort, including old men, women, children and warriors. The English attacked them, took the fort, set fire to the wigwams, and burned to death the wounded, old men, women and children, and killed 1000 warriors.

A few of the Indians, led by Philip, escaped, and in the following Spring again renewed the war; they, again, devastated the settlements and massacred the settlers. They were only the remnant of a once powerful tribe, and were soon beaten by the soldiers of the Colony. Philip was killed, and his wife and son taken captive; they were brought to Plymouth, and their fate submitted to the ministers. In accordance with the decree of the Reverend Judges, they were sold as slaves. "Philip's son ended his life under the lash of a task-master in the Bermudas."

Very different was the treatment of the women and children of the settlers captured by the Indians. The story is told of the capture of Mrs. Rowlandson, the wife of the minister of Lancaster, and her son and two daughters.

Their sufferings, from cold, hunger and constant wandering, were intense. The Indians were not able to give them either food or shelter, for they were constantly pursued by the Colonial soldiers. Negotiations were opened for the release of Mrs. Rowlandson and her children on payment of a ransom. It is said, that "Philip told her of this, and hoped that they would succeed. When her ransom arrived he met her with a smile saying,—I have pleasant words for you this morning; will you like to hear them? You are to go home tomorrow." Another writer says, "Such was the goodness of God to these poor captive women and children that they found so much favor in the sight of their enemies that they offered no wrong to any of their persons, save what they could not help, being in many wants themselves. Neither did they offer to any of the females, nor even attempt the chastity of any of them."

During this war six hundred English either fell in battle or were murdered by the Indians; thirteen towns and six hundred dwellings were burned; the cost of the war was one hundred thousand pounds. The war was continued in Maine for a time, but finally terminated in April 1678. Plymouth Colony was almost ruined by the destruction of its farms and homes, the murder of the people, and the great expense of carrying on this Indian War.

The English suffered terrible retribution for the accumulated wrongs, which they had inflicted upon the Indians for half a century.

Chapter XXVIII

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF PLYMOUTH COLONY

THE immoralities and low vices of the Plymouth Colonists are difficult to reconcile with the claims that they were a deeply religious people. Certain it is, that Bradford, save for stereotyped expressions and quotations from the Old Testament, presents no picture of a religious life among them.

Henry Van Dyke says, that "while Massachusetts was a religious Colony with commercial tendencies, New Amsterdam was a commercial Colony with religious principles. The Virginia Parson prayed by the book, and the Pennsylvania Quaker made silence the most important part of his ritual, but alike on the banks of the James and on the shores of the Delaware the ultimate significance and value of life were interpreted in terms of religion."

The purposes expressed in the Charter of the Virginia Colonists were two fold—commercial and religious; to establish an English Colony in the New World based on a religious foundation. How deeply significant of this purpose are these words of the Virginia Company to these Colonists,—"Lastly and chiefly the way to prosperity and to achieve suceess ** is to serve God, the Giver of all goodness."

As an evidence of their sincerity, the Company sent

with the first expedition, which landed at Jamestown in May 1607, the Reverend Robert Hunt, A. M. He was "a godly man ** a sincere christian gentleman, ** and an honest, religious and courageous divine."

One of the first things done by these Virginia Colonists, on landing at Jamestown, was to prepare a place where they could hold a religious service. Smith says, "I well remember we did hang an awning, which is an old saile, to three or four trees to shadow us from the sun, our walls were railes of wood, our seats were unhewed trees ** our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees." In this woodland church on June 20, 1607, the Rev. Robert Hunt administered the first sacrament on Virginia soil to these weary, storm tossed mariners of the English Church.

This served them till they built their first church in the summer of 1607,—"a homely thing like a barn set upon cratchets covered with rafts, sedge and earth." This church was destroyed by fire in January 1608, but another and better one was built at once. In these primitive churches, "we had daily common prayer, morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the holy communion until our minister died, ** but our prayers daily with a homily on Sunday we continued until the next preacher came."

The spiritual life of the Colony was in the keeping of this godly man.

Rev. Robert Hunt died about October 1609, and the Rev. Richard Buck, a graduate of Oxford, came in May 1610, with the next supply of Colonists. After the death

RUINS OF OLD CHURCH TOWER AT JAMESTOWN.

of Mr. Hunt, except for short intervals caused by death, the Colony at Jamestown was never without a minister, until the abandonment of the town about 1750. These ministers are spoken of as sincere and devout christian men.

When Lord Delaware arrived at Jamestown in June 1610, he reconstructed and beautified the church. "It was fitted with a chancel of cedar and communion table of black walnut. All the pews and pulpit were of cedar, with fair, broad windows also of cedar. The font was hewn hollow like a canoe, and there were two bells in the steeple. The church was so cast as to be very light within, and the Lord Governor caused it to be kept passing sweet, trimmed up with divers flowers. There was a sexton in charge of the church, and every morning at the ringing of a bell by him about ten o'clock, each man addressed himself to prayer, and so at four o'clock before supper."

In 1639, a brick church was built, but burned by Bacon in his rebellion in 1676. A new brick church was then built, being finished in 1679, in which services were held until about 1750. The site of government was moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg about 1699. Bruton Parish Church was built at Williamsburg, and the membership at Jamestown was finally transferred to it. The Jamestown Church was abandoned and fell into ruin, but the tower and brick walls of the ruins are still standing.

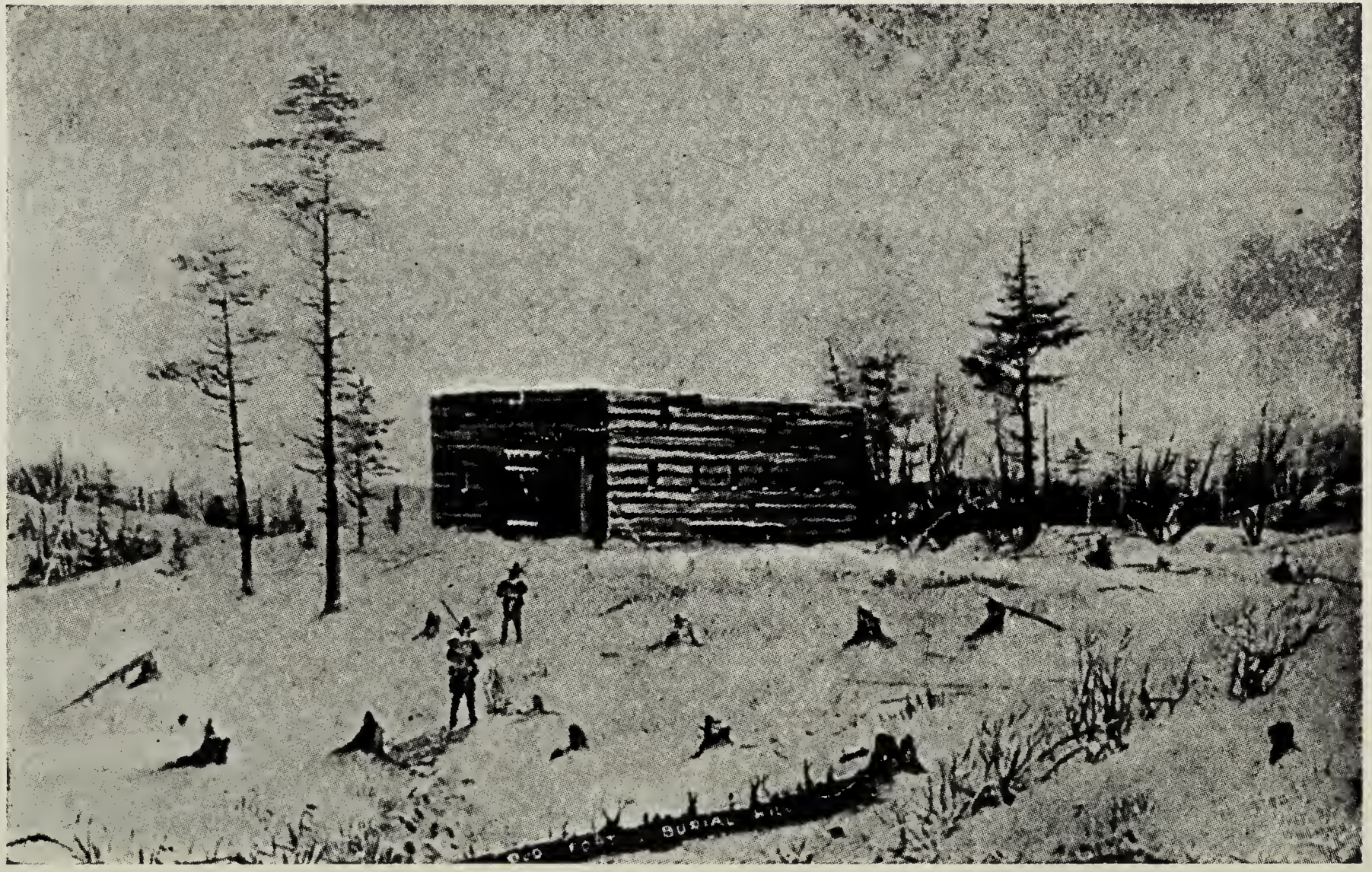
The minister, the church and religion were ever in the thought and plans of these Jamestown Colonists. The Church and the most sacred and holy relationships of

life were deeply and reverently associated in their hearts and minds. In this first church at Jamestown, the first marriage in the New World, that of Ann Burras and John Laydon, was solemnized; to this sacred place they bore their first born, Virginia, for baptism; under the teachings and influence of the minister, Rev. Richard Buck, Pocahontas was converted to Christianity; in this church, she was baptised, and here she was married to John Rolfe. At the altar of the church, men and maidens exchanged vows of love and fidelity, and were united in marriage by godly ministers; here they brought their first born for baptism; and from this sacred place their dead were borne to their last earthly resting place in Jamestown Church yard.

Yes, it may be said of Jamestown Colony, as of New Amsterdam, that it "was a commercial colony with religious principles." "The ultimate significance and value of life were interpreted in terms of religion" by these Virginia Colonists.

Those things were lacking in the schemes and plans of the Pilgrim Fathers, that were necessary to preserve and cultivate the religious life of the Plymouth Colonists. They brought no minister with them. The Pilgrims, on arriving at Plymouth in the latter part of December 1620 immediately built "ye first house for common use to receive them and their goods." This was completed by the middle of January 1621. The first religious service at Plymouth was held in the Common House, but not until March 1621. The holy communion was not administered to these Plymouth Colonists until in the year 1629.

BAPTISM OF POCAHONTAS



OLD FORT AND MEETING HOUSE, 1621 TO 1648

In a short time, they erected a building of logs with a flat roof on the hill for their Common House. This Common House was both a fortress and church. On its roof, Captain Miles Standish placed his five cannon.

> "Look! you can see from this window my brazen howitzer planted
> High on the roof of the church, a preacher who speaks to the purpose,
> Steady, straightforward, and strong, with irresistible logic,
> Orthodox, flashing conviction right into the hearts of the heathen."

This church was desecrated by hanging thereon the head of an Indian slain by Captain Miles Standish.

> "And as a trophy of war the head of the brave Wattuwamet
> Scowled from the roof of the fort, which at once was a church and a fortress."

What a ghastly incongruity. What a desecration of God's house!

These Pilgrims built no temple to the living God until 1648, nearly thirty years after arriving at Plymouth. This log fort, with its flat roof, on which was mounted their cannon—"a preacher who speaks to the purpose," was their "meeting house" during all that period. The walls of this fortress—church were mute witnesses of every phase of secular life,—a store house, a trader's resort, a court house where the low and revolting immoralities and crimes of the Colony were heard, and

inhuman punishments were inflicted according to the laws of Moses. This was their "Meeting House."

Their Church and its policies were more of a civil and military than a religious organization. This is a description of their Sundays in 1627, by De Rasieure. "They assembled by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the Captain's door; they have their cloaks on and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor in a long robe, beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand, the Captain with his side arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him." This was more like a military than a religious procession. There were no Indians near them. In fact, they were at peace with all Indian tribes living nearest them until King Philip's war in 1675.

Surely, these are not scenes, nor associations that are harmonious. No! When the soul wants to commune with God, man repairs to that holy of holies,—a temple of God, where peace, purity, sweetness and sinless associations are found.

The religious life of the Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony was drab and colorless. Dankers and Sluyter thus described a Sunday in Massachusetts about 1680, "We went into the church where, in the first place the minister made a prayer in a pulpit of full two hours in length; after which an old minister delivered a sermon an hour long and after that a prayer was made and some verses

sung out of the Psalms. In the afternoon three or four hours were consumed with nothing except prayers, three ministers relieving each other alternately, when one was tired another went up into the pulpit. There was no more devotion than in other churches and even less than in New York,—no respect, no reverence,—in a word,—nothing but the name of Independents."

They had robbed religion of the beautiful and spiritual. They regarded the works of the artist, the painter and sculptor as idolatrous; the sweet strains of music were never heard in the fortress-church; they eliminated the music, beauty and poetry of the Psalms, and converted them into rhymeless doggerel. For a time they used Ainsworth's version of the Psalms, but in 1639, desiring that "The singing of the Psalms should be restored to their scriptural purity," Cotton Mather, Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot were selected to make such a translation as would restore them to their "ancient" purity and beauty. Their translation was published under the title of "The Bay Psalm Book." The preface to this book says that they "faithfully translated into metre the whole Book of Psalms." It cannot be said that their translation was any improvement on that of Ainsworth.

The twenty-third Psalm is an expression of David's sweet simplicity, faith and confidence in God's Grace.

"The Lord is my Shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures;
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
He restores my soul; he leadeth me in the paths
of righteousness for His names sake."

These Puritans parodied these beautiful verses in the following grotesque lines,—

"1. The Lord to me a Shepherd is,
Want therefore shall not I;
2. He in the folds of tender grasse,
doth cause mee downe to lie;
To waters calm mee gently leads,
3. Restore my soul doth hee;
He doth in paths of righteousness;
for His names sake lead mee."

The preface to "The Bay Psalm Book" but adds to the ludicrous travesty of the lines of the Sweet Singer of Israel. These translators say in their preface. "If therefore the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some may desire and expect, let them consider that God's Altar needs not our polishing; Ex-20, For wee have respected rather a plaine translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase, and so have attended Conscience rather than Elegance, fidelity rather than poetry, in translating the Hebrew into English metre; that soe wee may sing in Zion, the Lord's songs of praise according to his own will."

At their services, they sang many of these parodies of the Psalms in sepulchral, nasal tones, interspersed between their long prayers and sermons. Wigglesworth gives us a picture of the atmosphere of gloom in which the soul of the Pilgrim and Puritan dwelt, in these lines,—

"My thoughts on awful subjects rolle—
Damnation and the dead."

Yet, Bradford wondered why those Anglo-Saxons of "Merrie England" had to be whipped and punished to compel them to attend the services of the Brownist Church.

They remembered their material blessings on that first Thanksgiving day in 1621, in feasting, games, singing and dancing by their Indian guests. But that natal day

> "Whereon is born
> The Christ that saveth all and me;"

that day, with its hallowed and holy memories, and its spiritual significance, was ignored. The celebration of the birth of the Christ Child was prohibited. In the neighboring Colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1651, an order of the General Court was made providing that any one observing "any such day as Christmas ** shall pay for any such offense five shillings."

Christmas, to them, was a superstitious relic of popery and paganism. All merry making was prohibited. Marriage was not a holy ordinance of God, but degraded into a mere civil contract made between youth and maiden in presence of the Magistrate. When death entered the family circle, grief and sorrow for the loss of a loved one was suppressed; the body was coldly committed to the grave without ceremony or service of any kind. There was nothing in their church, social life or customs to cultivate the ethical or spiritual in the lives of the Pilgrims.

All of those Separatists who came in the Mayflower, save Brewster and Bradford, had grown up amidst the surroundings, and under the influences of the lax ideas of

morality and religion in Holland. Many of the Colonists were of the Established Church of England. Though being greatly in the majority, yet they were not allowed to have their own church or minister, nor the safeguards of the religious influences of their own faith. In after years, many settlements and towns sprang up in various parts of Plymouth territory. There were, however, few churches and these were often not supplied with ministers. Concerning these conditions, Palfrey says, that "on one occasion Massachusetts went so far as to make the remissness of Plymouth the subject of a representation to the Federal Commissioners."

In 1664, the dissolution of the Independent Church in Plymouth was seriously considered. "Its fortunes had reached so low an ebb that the membership dwindled down to forty-seven persons." Bradford some years before said, that many left Plymouth "and sundrie others still upon every occasion desiring their dismissions, the churches began seriously to think whether it were not better to remove to some other place, than to be thus weakened, and as it were insensibly dissolved." It was, finally, decided to keep the church at Plymouth.

"But the living faith of the settlers old
A dead profession their children hold."

These conditions in the church, inevitably produced a decadence, both, in morals and in the spiritual life in Plymouth and in New England. In 1678, Dr. Increase Mather said, ** "that many of the rising generation are profane, drunkards, swearers, licentious and scoffers at the power of holiness."

A Reforming Synod met in Boston in 1678, and issued a statement in which they "lamented the neglect of public worship, desecration of the Lord's Day, lack of family government, and an alarming increase of worldliness among the people, accompanied by dishonesty, extravagance, lying, intemperance, profanity and a general decay of Godliness in the land."

Fiske says of New England, that the "first decade of the 18th century may be best characterized by saying that spirituality was at a low ebb."

The Church and its leaders were more greatly interested in the economic, civic and political problems of the Colony than in its religious development. The Separatist or Independent Church of Plymouth had little influence on the lives of the people. This Church had not found its way into their hearts and affections. On the contrary, it was repellant. The Pilgrim Fathers were rigorous and merciless in seeking out and punishing those guilty of the most trivial offenses against the Brownist Church and Colony. "Wickedness" was here narrowly looked into and severely "punished" by whipping, imprisonment and death.

The religious and civic life of the Colony was governed by the Mosaic Laws. Plymouth was in no sense a religious Colony. It was purely economic, commercial and political.

Chapter XXIX

MORALS

IN literature and song the Pilgrim Fathers have been characterized as God's chosen people.

> "O trembling Faith! though dark the morn,
> A heavenly torch is thine;
> While feebler races melt away,
> And paler orbs decline,
> Still shall the fiery pillar's ray,
> Along the pathway shine,
> To light the chosen tribe that sought
> This Western Palestine."

Timothy Dwight says, that the New England Pioneers were "impatient of the restraints of law, religion and morality."

We are shocked at their gross immoralities and licentiousness. Drinking was general. The tavern fireside was the social rendezvous of the men. A bright cheery fire during the long winter nights, liquor and coarse companionship brought the inevitable result—drunkenness, vulgarity and licentiousness. These Pilgrim Fathers made the Inn—the drinking resort of the town—an appendage of the "Meeting House." They granted licenses only to those who would locate "so near the meeting house that those attending meeting could enjoy the fireside and liquor

between services on the Lord's Day. The only restriction imposed was that no liquor should be sold "on the Lord's Day before the meeting be ended." Such crimes as stealing, assault and murder were frequent.

It is an awakening to us to view the picture, which Bradford gives, of the lives of the people of Plymouth. He speaks of their notorious sins,—"espetially drunkenness and uncleanness; not only incontinence between persons unmarried ** but some married persons also." "By uncleanness" he refers to the impurity of the lives of both men and women.

There are many instances of record of the selling and trading wives by their husbands in New England. We are astounded to learn that it was a custom sanctioned by the Church. Governor Winship wrote, suggesting to the Church in Providence, "that if Goodman Verin would not give his wife full liberty to go to meeting on Sunday and weekly lectures as often as she wishes, the Church should dispose of her to some other man who would use her better."

The licentious and degrading custom of bundling[1] prevailed in New England from about the year 1634, to near the close of the 18th. century—a period of one hundred and sixty years.

The practice began with "the humbler classes of society." It grew, however, among other classes, and Stiles says "came the nearest to being a universal custom from 1750 to 1780." While, generally, yet it was not always, confined to "sweethearts and lovers." Stiles, quoting from the History of Ancient Glastonbury, Con-

[1] The Century Dictionary

necticut by Rev. Alonzo Chapin, says, "that the church records, during the pastorate of the Rev. Eels 1759-1791, states that the absurd practise of bundling prevailed in those days, ***aided by a previous growing laxity of morals ** had rolled a tide of immorality over the land which not even the bulwark of the Church had been able to withstand. The Church Records from 1760 to 1791, raised presumptions of the strongest kind, that then as since, incontinence and intemperance were among the sins of the people."

This custom began in 1634, as the children of the Colony grew to young men and women, and as other women came into the Colony. It prevailed in New England for more than a century before even the church awoke to its corrupt and debasing effect on the morals of the people.

"About 1756 Boston, Salem, Newport and other places forbade their daughters bundling."

The church, also, took steps to correct the evil by a "revision of their church policy, by greater carefulness in admission of members, by rules more stringently enforced to preserve purity of the church." Jonathan Edwards "thundered against it, ** but the task was well nigh hopeless."

What were the conditions that produced this custom in these New England Colonies so soon after their first settlement?

These Pilgrim Fathers and Puritans had robbed marriage of its sacred character. The Separatist and Independent Church had degraded it to the lower level of a

mere civil and business contract. The English Church had elevated marriage to a higher plane; there was a sacred and spiritual significance in it when solemnized by a clergyman in the beautiful ceremony of that church; these New England Colonists had removed it from the pure and holy influences of the Church. A minister was not permitted to perform the ceremony of marriage; only a Magistrate or one authorized by the General Court had the right to "join any persons together in marriage." In 1647, the Massachusetts Bay Colony prohibited any person joining "themselves in marriage but before some Magistrate or person" authorized by the Court. It was not until 1692, after Plymouth Colony had been incorporated into the Massachusetts Commonwealth under a new charter from the King, that a minister was authorized to solemnize marriages. Ministers were prohibited from solemnizing marriages for nearly three quarters of a century, and in the outlying districts, much of the time, there was no one authorized to perform the ceremony. Under these conditions, the people lost their reverence for marriage as a sacred ordinance and their respect for it as a civil contract.

The inevitable result of these conditions followed,—incontinence and a lower moral tone in the New England Colonies.

There were in Plymouth Colony people who were guilty of the lowest and most depraved sins,—sins and the punishment therefor, so revolting as to be unmentionable.

Bradford says that notwithstanding attempts to pre-

vent these "sins" "by strict laws" they became common "breaking out where it getts vente."

Like conditions prevailed in the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts Bay. In 1642, Governor Bellingham wrote a letter to Governor Bradford concerning the "heinous offenses in point of uncleanness" prevailing there, and asking the advice of the Magistrates and Elders of Plymouth Colony as to what constituted these crimes, and the evidence necessary for conviction. Governor Bradford referred the matter to "such Reverend Elders as are among us"—John Reyner, Ralph Patrick and Charles Chancy—for their opinion as to what constituted the offenses named, what degree of guilt was necessary, how many witnesses were required to convict and the punishment. Although English subjects, the Pilgrim Fathers did not turn to the English laws governing these crimes, nor to the men who could interpret them, but to the ministers. The Old Testament was their Book of Laws, Moses was their law giver, and the ministers were the interpreters of these laws.

These Elders wrote exhaustive opinions, in deciding the questions submitted to them. They based their opinions on the laws of Moses found in Leviticus, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Numbers and Joshua.

As late as 1678, the General Court of Masaschusetts Bay Colony, desiring to adopt a code of laws concerning crimes and punishments therefor, referred the matter to the ministers of the Colony. These "Reverend Elders," after due deliberation, recommended the adoption of the Mosaic Laws concerning idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy,

murder, poisoning, adultery, man stealing, bearing false witness, and children cursing or smiting their parents, as found in the 21st and 22nd Chapters of Exodus, the 20th, 21st and 24th chapters of Leviticus, and the 19th and 22nd Chapters of Deuteronomy. The General Court adopted the report of the ministers, and enacted the Laws of Moses concerning these crimes and punishment therefor, as the laws of the Colony. Death was the punishment for these crimes.

The Pilgrim Fathers sought and punished offenders mercilessly. They had but one standard of morals and punishment for men and women. Notwithstanding imprisonment, whipping and the death penalty, still these punishments had no deterrent effect.

These Plymouth Colonists were without religious influences, and had, therefore, become irreligious. They had become morally and spiritually blind.

Why did these conditions prevail in Plymouth?

It must be remembered that the Separatists who came from Leyden, save Bradford and Brewster, were of the younger generation. They had fallen into the habits, customs and "licentiousness of the youth in that countrie." Many "undesirables, both men and women" came to the Colony.

There came to New England, Weeden says, "a steady stream of white male and female emigrants apprenticed or bound to serve, also banished convicts, and a steady stream of laborers forced to sell their service to pay the expense of their transportation." Bradford wonders, "how it came to pass that so many wicked persons and

profane people should so quickly come over into this land." Life in the New World was wild and free. The Church and religious atmosphere was wanting. There was no godly example, teaching or restraining influence of a minister during the early life of the Colony. There were many periods when they had no minister, and some of those, whom they did have, were not of good character. Other ministers engaged in controversies and contentions with the leaders in the Church over trivial matters. Under these conditions the Colonists lost their respect for the minister, the church and religion.

"Plymouth had neither by example or otherwise," Doyle says, "much effect on Massachusetts. If the Plymouth settlement had never been made, the political life of New England would in all probability have taken the same form and run the same course as it did."

Plymouth Colony lived an exclusive, narrow existence, without any inspiring or elevating influence on the settlers within the bounds of its own territory, on the surrounding Colonists or on posterity, either intellectually, socially, politically, in economics, morals, or religion.

Chapter XXX

MINISTERS

THE Mayflower sailed for the New World with its cargo of human souls without a minister. In the midst of sacrifices, distress, sickness and death, on sea and land, there was no one to bring the consolations of religion to those suffering, sorrowing souls for nine years.

It is almost unbelievable that any community or settlement of Englishmen would live for so long a period without a minister. Mr. Robinson remained in Leyden as pastor of the Separatist Church, instead of sailing with the Pilgrim Fathers; and there is no evidence that the Separatists in Plymouth made any effort to obtain a minister from 1620 to 1629.

Complaint was made in 1624 to the Adventurers of the religious conditions in the Colony. Among the complaints was the charge that the Colonists were Brownists, and would not allow an English church in the Colony.

Bradford, as an excuse for their failure to observe their religious duties, says that it was because the Adventurers had prevented Robinson from coming to Plymouth. Robinson died March 1, 1625. From 1620 to 1625, there is nothing in his letters or conduct that indicate an intention on his part or a desire to join the Colony. In the latter part of the year 1626, the Adventurers

agreed to sell their interest in the Colony to the Colonists. The Colonists were then free from any restraints of the Adventurers concerning a Separatist minister for the Colony, yet they had no minister until 1629.

During the entire period from 1620 to 1626, the Adventurers alone attempted to furnish ministers for the Colony. In 1624, they sent over the first minister—John Lyford, a clergyman of the Church of England, but with Separatist tendencies, a man of loose morals and low character. He preached for them a short time, but was expelled from the Colony because he wrote to the Company a report of religious conditions in the Colony, and "withdrew ** and set up a public meeting aparte, on ye Lord's day." This was a service of the Established Church for the benefit of the members of that Church in the Colony.

In 1628, Mr. Allerton, the agent for the Colonists, brought over Mr. Rogers as their minister, but as Bradford says, "he was crased in his braine, so that they were forced to be at the further charge to send him back again the next year."

In 1629, Mr. Ralph Smith came over to "ye Bay of Massachusetts. But becoming wearie of being in that uncouth place," came to Plymouth. The Separatists of Plymouth, learning that he had been a minister, elected him as pastor of their church; he was their "first settled minister." Bradford says, that he was "a man of very mean abilities;" they were not satisfied with him, and he left them in 1636. About 1632, Roger Williams came to Plymouth. He was admitted as a member of the Separ-

atist Church, "and exercised his gifts amongst them." Bradford says, that he was "a man, godly and zealous, ** but very unsettled in judgement." He soon "began to fall into some strange opinions, and from opinions to practise; which caused some controversie between ye church and him." He left them "somewhat abruptly" in 1632.

Bradford is condescendingly charitable to this godly man. After writing of their differences and controversies with this "gentle baptist," he says—"but he is to be pitied, and prayed for, and so I shall leave ye matter, and desire ye Lord to shew him his errors and reduce him unto ye way of truth, and give him a settled judgement and constancie in ye same; for I hope he belongs to ye Lord, and that he will shew him mercie."

Williams was, in truth, a disciple of Christ. He was a vigorous defender of, what he called, "soul liberty." He entertained and practiced these "strange opinions,—*** liberty of conscience and of religious belief and freedom in matter of worship; that the doctrine of persecution for the cause of conscience ** is contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus." He did not believe in a theocracy; he taught the doctrine of separation of Church and State; he denied that the authority of the Magistrates extended beyond civil powers; he maintained that their power was only over "the bodies, goods and outward state of men." He denounced the law that gave to Magistrates authority to punish heresy, and to compel attendance at divine worship. For these "strange opinions" he left Plymouth.

In 1635, Mr. Winslow brought over Mr. John Norton, but he remained only about one year.

Their next minister was Mr. John Raynor, who came in 1636, and remained as their pastor until 1654.

Bradford says, that he was "an able and godly man and of a meeke and humble spirit." Though a graduate of Magdalen College, Palfrey says, that he was not of "commanding abilities or character." The first church or "Meeting House" was built in 1648, by Mr. Raynor, nearly thirty years after the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth.

In 1638, Mr. Charles Chauncey came to Plymouth as an assistant to Mr. Raynor, remaining three years. He was "a reverend, godly and very learned man **** But there fell out some difference about baptism." He held that "baptism ought only to be by dipping and putting ye whole body under water, and that sprinkling was unlawful." The Church was of the opinion that, either "immersion or dipping was lawful," but dipping "in this cauld countrie was not so conveniente. They could not yield to him ** that sprinkling was unlawful." Mr. Chauncey, therefore, left Plymouth. He afterwards became president of Harvard College.

It was not until the year 1669, that Plymouth obtained a settled pastor. In that year Mr. John Cotton, Jr.—a son of the Rev. John Cotton of Boston—became pastor, and continued to serve them until 1692. He left Plymouth and went to South Carolina.

Barrett Wendell says, that John Cotton "was forced to leave his pulpit under circumstances which may have suggested to Hawthorne, the story of 'The Scarlet Letter,' and, though he asserted his innocence to the end, he died obscurely in South Carolina."

William Brewster was about sixty years old when he came to Plymouth in 1620. He was not a minister but only an Elder in the Independent Church, consequently he could not perform any of the ceremonies of the Church. Though laboring in the fields when able, bearing the toils, privations and hardships with the rest of the Colony, yet, when the Church had no minister, he "taught them twice every Sabbath." The feebleness of age, the hardships, that he endured, and his daily toil sapped his vitality, so that he had little left for the religious life of the Colony.

During many long periods there was no minister in Plymouth to perform any of the services of the church, or to administer the sacrament. The Pilgrim Fathers never recognized the fact that the church with its minister is the spiritual and moral safeguard of a community.

Chapter XXXI

PILGRIM FATHERS AS MISSIONARIES

THE Pilgrim Fathers did not possess the missionary spirit. The hope expressed by Bradford that they might do something for the propagation and advancement of the gospel of Christ "in those remote parts of ye world," in the light of their treatment of the Indians, must not be taken seriously.

The Pilgrim Fathers brought neither the Bible nor the gospel of Christ, but the sword, to the heathen of the New World. They were cruelly inhuman in their treatment of the Indians. They murdered many, and in war, they shot and killed not only the combatants, but herded innocent women and children with the men in Indian villages and burned them alive, and enslaved men, women and children captured as spoils of war. Their's was a work of subjugation and spoliation, not conversion of the Indians.

Reports of these cruelties and inhumanities, and of the failure to carry the gospel of Christ to the Indians were received in England. As the years passed, there grew up among the ministers and people of England, a feeling that the gospel should be carried to the Indians in New England. About 1644, an Association was organized under an ordinance of Parliament known as the "Society

for the promoting and propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." This Society obtained liberal contributions in England for this purpose. A commission was organized composed of seven trustees,—Puritans, Congregationalists and Separatists appointed by the various Colonies in New England to receive and manage this fund. Governor Hinckley of Plymouth, was one of these trustees or commissioners.

Some years these Commissioners received from three to four hundred pounds, and some reckoned as high as six hundred pounds a year. Charges were brought against the Commissioners that they would make no allowance out of these funds to the Indians for the winter; that they would not suffer Aaron, an Indian teacher, to have a "Bible with the Common Prayer in it;" that they "enriched themselves, yet charged it all as laid out upon the poor Indians."

The missionaries were often unfit men, although there were some who possessed the true missionary spirit.

John Elliot, the apostle to the Indians of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was a man of this character. He was the most successful of all the missionary workers among the Indians. He spent much of his life among them, improving their condition, educating, teaching, and carrying the gospel to them. His plans for their improvement, however, were not always practical or successful. He devised a plan for a settlement in some remote place where he could assemble all of his native followers, and teach them "in letters, trades and labors;" he selected a place, called Natick by the Indians, about

eighteen miles from Boston, laid out a town, erected a palisaded fort, a common house with a hall in it used for worship on Sundays and for a school during the week.

He attempted to establish a government based on the Bible, both in Church and State. He selected the scheme of government of Moses in the 18th, Chapter of Exodus as his model,—"a ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifty and ten rulers of tens;" he then selected and appointed certain Indians to these positions as rulers. This plan appealed to many Indians who enjoyed these positions of authority and honor, but it meant the destruction of the tribal relations, and his plan was soon bitterly opposed by the chiefs of the tribes. The Commissioners or Trustees of the missionary fund were obliged to instruct him "to go slow" in this scheme. His plan for a civil and religious government for the Indians was a failure; they returned to their tribes, and lapsed into their former tribal condition.

It is said that, in 1674, Elliot had about eleven hundred "praying Indians" in Massachusetts. These Indians, however, were not, with a few exceptions, converted. They joined his Colony through the hope of aid and support in winter, and for positions of authority given to some of them. There were only two churches,—one at Natick with only fifty communicants, and another at Hassanamisitt, (Grafton). These "praying Indians" proved faithless; they joined King Philip's unconverted savages in the massacre of the white settlers in his war.

Claims have been made of the large number of converts among the New England Indians by Elliot and others,

but the permanent results do not justify such claims. We may conclude that these claims of such large numbers of "Praying Indians" were but propaganda for the benefit of the Missionary Society in England that was furnishing the money for religious work among the Indians.

Chapter XXXII

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

IN no Colony, save Massachusetts Bay Colony, was religious intolerance more pronounced than in Plymouth. The Pilgrims were Separatists, and no church, other than their Independent Church, was tolerated in Plymouth Colony. Many Puritans were still in the Established Church, but this was not true of the Pilgrims; the lines were sharply drawn; every Church, other than their own, was an abomination of the Lord. Every man must conform to the Pilgrim's religious views, or be "harried" out of Plymouth Colony.

Their treatment of the Quakers, though not so barbarous as in Massachusetts Bay Colony, yet was extremely cruel. Many Quakers had settled in Scituate and Sandwich, towns within Plymouth territory. These Quakers were of the English yeomanry. They had been in the English Church, but objecting to the use of the ritual and form of worship, became non-conformists. They believed in "Christ the Saviour, in the atonement, in the resurrection and in the inspiration of the Bible." Notwithstanding their belief and faith in these fundamentals, they were, in the view of the Pilgrim Fathers "cursed heretics," and as such were scourged and banished from Plymouth Colony.

George Fox, the founder of the Sect in England, was no fanatic, but a deeply religious man. He believed in that "Inward Light",—"that Divine spirit within us which would lead men to all truth,"

Hallowell, writing of the Quakers in England and the Colonies, says, that "Quakerism in its social and moral aspect was the synonym for brotherly love, purity, simplicity, integrity and benevolence."

The Quakers, who settled in the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies, are described as honest, law abiding, sober, industrious and "God fearing." They believed that marriage was more than a civil contract; they believed that it was a divine ordinance and sacred. While no minister officiated, yet the ceremony was a sacrament. The following is a description of a marriage of Friends in the Colony,—In a public meeting groom and bride "solemnly take each other in marriage, with a promise of love and fidelity, and not to leave one another before death separates them. ** After an appropriate silence, the groom and bride rise, and taking each other by the hand, each in turn repeats the following,—'In the presence of the Lord and this Assembly, I take thee to be my wife (or husband) promising with divine assistance to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband (or wife) until death shall separate us.'"

Wenlock Christison and other Friends, who were persecuted and banished from Massachusetts, found refuge on the Eastern and Western Shores of Maryland and in Delaware.

To those who have come into close touch with the

lives of Friends, Hallowell's characterization of their virtues is just and true. Possessing these qualities and virtues, in what, then did these Quakers invite the wrath of the Rulers of Plymouth Colony? The answer is found in the fact, that they firmly believed in liberty of conscience and religious freedom for all men. The Pilgrims, though professing this principle, yet did not, in fact, believe in it at all. In Plymouth Colony, the Quakers were charged with no crime, nor with the violation of any law of the Colony, save that of failure to attend the Separatist Church, and of holding their own meetings.

It has been claimed that the Pilgrims did not persecute the Quakers. This is not correct. None were executed, but fines were imposed that impoverished, and cruel whippings, imprisonment and banishment were inflicted. Even the Colonists, faithful to the Independent Church, were required to turn informers by the Plymouth authorities or suffer the penalties of the law.

Major James Cudworth, a magistrate and afterwards deputy Governor of Plymouth Colony, of the town of Scituate, was degraded from his offices, both civil and military, and disfranchised for thirteen years because he showed some kindness to the Quakers "in giving them a night's lodging or two and some victuals."

He was not a Quaker but a Separatist. His offense was in objecting to their persecution by the Pilgrim Fathers, and in showing them some kindness. He says, "I was forced on sundry occasions while magistrate to declare my dissent against things which the rulers did."

Mr. Hathaway, though elected an assistant to the

Governor of Plymouth Colony, was not allowed to take the oath of office because he advocated toleration.

The following are some of the laws of the Pilgrims concerning the Quakers,—

"If any entertain a Quaker, if but for a quarter of an hour, he is to forfeit five pounds.

"If any see a Quaker he is bound, though he lives six miles or more from the constable, yet he must go and give notice to the constable, or else is subject to the censure of the court.

"If the constable know or hear of any Quaker in his precinct, he is presently to apprehend him; and if he will not presently depart the town, the constable is to whip him and send him away.

"If there be a Quaker meeting anywhere in this Colony, the party in whose house or on whose ground it is—is to pay forty shillings, the preaching Quaker forty shillings and every hearer forty shillings.

"If they have meetings, though nothing is spoken ** they are to be apprehended and carried before a magistrate, and by him committed and kept close prisoners until they will promise to depart and never come again, and will pay their fees.

"They must be kept on 'coarse bread and water;' no Friend will be allowed to bring them anything nor speak to them."

Major Cudworth says, that in Boston Colony "after they have whipped them and cut their ears ** they banish them upon pain of death if they ever come there again. We expect that we must do likewise; we must dance

after their pipe." He further says of the punishments under these laws, "that the whipping of them with that cruelty as some have been whipped, and their patience under it, has gained more adherents to them than if they had suffered them openly to have preached a sermon."

"Smite, Goodman Hate—Evil!—harder still!
The magistrate cried, 'lay on with a will!
Drive out of their bodies the Father of Lies,
Who through them preaches and prophesies!"

"God is our witness," the victim cried,
We suffer for him who for all men died;
The wrong ye do has been done before,
We bear the stripes that the Master bore!"

These "poor people were pillaged and plundered of their goods" by a system of repeated fines in order to force them from their homes, "even to their last cow ** and when they have no more, at last may be forced to flee, and glad they have their lives."

Cudworth gives some instances of the cruelty of the officers in collecting fines imposed by the magistrate against the Quakers. A poor weaver, who had seven or eight small children—"he himself lame in his body," had but two cows, and both were taken from him. Some that had a cow only, some two cows, some three cows, and many small children, were repeatedly fined until their last cow was taken. None dared breathe a word of sympathy for fear of punishment.

"Take heed," one whispered "they'll take your cow
For fines, as they took your horse and plough,
And the bed from under you."

The attempt was made to charge the Sect with indecent conduct. The Apologists of the Puritans and some historians have given instances where women appeared naked in public, as an evidence of their unfitness to be allowed in the Colonies. The charges of indecency or unfitness of these people are unfounded and unjust. The circumstances on which these charges are based are as follows,—One of these women, Debora Wilson, in 1662, appeared in the streets of Salem in a nude condition. She was arrested, but given only "moderate chastisement" because of her mental condition. She was, later on, arraigned for absenting herself from public worship, but was dismissed because "as the court record reads," "she is distempered in her head." She was a poor demented woman.

The other case was that of Lydia Wardwell, "a young, tender and chaste woman,"—the daughter of a Puritan—Isaac Perkins, She married a Quaker, Eliakim Wardwell in 1659. Her husband had been put in the stocks for rebuking the levity of Mr. Raynor, a minister formerly of Plymouth, who "stood and looked and laughed" during the flogging of Ann Coleman, Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose by the Puritans. He was, also, arrested and fined for having entertained Wenlock Christison, a Quaker, and his horse was taken from him to satisfy this fine. Because of the absence of him and his wife from the Independent Church, he was repeatedly fined and so rendered penniless.

His wife, Lydia, had witnessed the torturing and flogging of her own friends. She had seen the women,—

Ann Coleman, Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose—Friends—stripped naked to the waist, tied to a cart's tail, and driven through several towns in the bitter cold of winter. At every town on the way, each woman was given ten lashes on the bare body, sometimes until the blood ran.

"By the meeting-house in Salisbury town,
The sufferers stood, in the red sundown,
Bare for the lash! O pitying Night,
Drop swift thy curtain and hide the sight!"

There can be no doubt, but that these terrible scenes, and the persecutions and sufferings of her husband and herself had unsettled the mind of Lydia Wardwell.

Ignorance and a superstitious, selfish intolerance had chilled the hearts and dulled the senses of these Pilgrims and Puritans. They could neither see the sufferings, nor hear the cry of pain of those whom they so cruelly persecuted.

"Dear God and Father of us all,
Forgive our faith in cruel lies,—
Forgive the blindness that denies!"
"Cast down our idols, overturn
Our bloody altars; let us see
Thyself in Thy humanity!"

It cannot be true that these Pilgrims came to the New World to find liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and yet could so relentlessly persecute innocent men and women because they claimed the same right and privileges for themselves.

Chapter XXXIII

EDUCATION IN PLYMOUTH COLONY

WILLIAM BREWSTER and Edward Winslow were men of superior education for their time, and William Bradford had a fair education; he became the historian of the Colony. These men had lived in Leyden, a center of schools and education in Holland. They knew the need, and great importance of education for the children in New England. They were leaders; they, practically, directed and controlled the policies of Plymouth Colony for more than thirty years; yet this most important work of educating the children of the Colony was neglected. As early as 1624, complaint was made in England that "children were not catechised nor taught to read" in Plymouth. This was, substantially, true, for they had neither schools, fit persons to teach, nor means to maintain them.

Other New England Colonies took measures to provide schools, though little was, in fact, accomplished. Plymouth Colony, however, lagged in this regard.

In 1664, Charles II. appointed Commissioners to go to New England, and, among other things, report on the method in use for educating the young, and converting the natives. In 1666, these Royal Commissioners reported that in Plymouth Colony "they were so poor they were not able to maintain scholars to their ministers."

"There is no evidence from tradition or public records," says Windsor, "of any provision for education until 1670, except in private families." The first record of any teacher in Plymouth was of John Morton in 1671. It was not until 1673, that any public measure was taken in the interests of education. In that year, "The Court voted that a public school, the earliest in the Colony, should be set up in the town of Plymouth, and that the revenue from the Cape Fishery (Cape Cod) should be appropriated to its support." The revenue from this fishery was but a few pounds each year.

Teachers received only such pay as the parents could afford to give, and parents were too poor to pay them. Both the mothers and fathers were illiterate, and too absorbed in their daily labors to instruct their children. Neither the wife of Governor Bradford, nor the four daughters of Nathaniel Morton, the secretary and historian of the Colony, could write. These conditions prevailed until Plymouth Colony was incorporated in the Massachusetts Bay Commonwealth in 1692. From that time the laws of Massachusetts Bay Colony, then in force, and laws afterwards passed concerning education, prevailed in what was, formerly, the territory of Plymouth Colony. But these laws, as shown elsewhere, were ineffective. Education was neglected in these Colonies for a century longer.

The impression, that the early Pilgrims and Puritans were deeply interested in the education of the masses, has been produced by isolated expressions and conclusions of early writers and historians who were mostly New Englanders. These claims are not justified by the facts.

Some of the first settlers who came and established the Massachusetts Bay Colony were from the upper and better classes in England; some of them were men of education, social standing and wealth; there were some graduates of Cambridge, England, the hotbed of Puritanism. These men were superior to the Pilgrim Fathers.

The emigrants were, however, generally of the laboring classes and from the poor people of England. A few, both in Plymouth and in Massachusetts Bay Colony, became small farmers, but the most of them were fishermen, and traders along the coast and among the Indians. The hard conditions, unfavorable surroundings and necessities of pioneer life were not conducive to an interest in education, even of learning to "read and write." All that was required in early Colonial days in New England, was to learn to "read" and sometimes to "write;" even this was regarded as necessary only for boys, but not for girls, by the Puritans and Pilgrims.

After the first generation of settlers had passed away, the ministers were, practically, the only educated men in the New England Colonies. As the years passed, the ministers were prohibited from teaching by an Act passed in 1702, providing, "that no minister of any town shall be deemed, held or accepted to be the schoolmaster of such town within the intent of the law."

Men were employed to teach the older boys for two or three months in the winter; but they were ignorant and incompetent—sometimes day laborers.

It was not thought necessary, or even proper to educate girls. As late as 1793, these New England Puritans

and Pilgrims objected to the establishment of a school for girls "on the ground that it might teach wives to correct their husbands in spelling." A century and a half was required to overcome the prejudices against the education of girls. It was not until near the beginning of the 19th century that New England made any provision for their education. Even then they provided for the education of girls "either in short summer terms, or at the noon hours or other intervals of the town (boy's) school;" they were not admitted to the common schools of Boston until about 1789.

In many localities the education of girls, at least before the Revolution, was confined to the "Dame Schools." This was a school for small children, both boys and girls, generally conducted by elderly women. Mothers, while teaching their own, also taught their neighbor's children, doing their house work at the same time. As the women and mothers, however, were ignorant and illiterate, the educational results were scarcely appreciable. These schools were little more than nurseries for little children.

This prejudice against the education of girls did not exist in the Colonies below New England.

John Savage of Northampton County, Virginia, in the 17th Century provided in his will that his Executors should hire out three servants, and that their wages should be used to pay the tuition of his two daughters for a period of five years.

Watson, in his Annals, says of a school for girls in Lewis Town, in the "three Lower Counties on the Delaware," that "at this early period of time (1693) so much had the

little Lewistown at our Southern Cape the pre-eminence in female tuition, that Thomas Lloyd, the deputy governor (under William Penn), preferred to send his younger daughters from Philadelphia to that place to finish their Education."

There are many records showing that girls as well as boys were educated in the Colonies below New England in Colonial days.

Massachusetts is entitled to the credit of passing the first Act for the education of children, though it was ineffective. "The great memorial of that period," Palfrey says, "is the establishment of a **system of public schools." It is true that laws were passed for the establishment of schools, yet they were not observed. Several Acts were passed by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but none by Plymouth Colony except the one above mentioned.

The first Act concerning schools was passed in Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1642, providing that children should be taught so much learning as may enable them to *read* the English language. This law was ignored.

The next act was passed in 1647, which provided, 'Sec. 1. Every township with fifty householders shall appoint one within their town to teach such children as *shall resort* to him to *write and read*, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the whole inhabitants, if the *major part may so order*." "Sec. 2. Whenever any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school; and if any town neglect to do so above one year, such town shall pay five pounds

per annum." This penalty, however, was only to be required for failure to maintain a grammar school. There was no penalty for failure to teach the children to "read and write." These laws contained no provision for their enforcement, consequently, they were ignored. The "major part" of the inhabitants never voted a school tax for the support of schools. The parents were obliged to pay for such instruction as their children received; the result was, that comparatively few parents were either able or willing to pay for such instruction. Schools were not maintained and education was neglected.

The word "town" in these various Acts means "township."

A quarter of a century more of neglect passed. In 1671 another Act was passed, providing for raising the fine from five to ten pounds per annum for neglecting to maintain a grammar school. The Grammar schools were intended as feeders for Harvard. Something had to be done to provide students for this college, which was languishing for want of support, both in students and in money. In 1683, Boston contributed the small sum of twenty-five pounds toward the support of schools, yet Boston, at that time, had a population of over five thousand.

In 1683, an Act was passed providing that every town (township) of five hundred families or householders shall set up and maintain two grammar schools and two writing schools. If there be two hundred families the penalty for failure was fixed at twenty pounds. None of these laws were effective, even though penalties were provided,

and increased from time to time for failure to maintain schools, either common or grammar, because the penalties were not enforced. Another twenty years of neglect passed.

In 1702, three-quarters of a century after the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Puritan authorities, recognizing these conditions, passed an Act, containing a recital of the neglect of education and the evasion of the penalties therefor by the people; this Act recites that "Whereas it is by law appointed that every town within this province, having the number of fifty householders or upwards, shall be constantly provided of a schoolmaster to teach children and youth to read and write, and when any town or towns have the number of one hundred families or householders, there shall be a grammar school ** and some discreet person ** present to keep such school." That "the observance of which wholesome and excellent laws is shamefully neglected by divers towns, and the penalty not required, tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and religion." ** "Be it enacted ** that the penalty for non-observance of such laws shall henceforth be twenty pounds." This act was equally as non-effective as the previous laws. It was cheaper to pay the fine than to maintain the schools.

In 1718, still another Act was passed reciting that many towns able to support a grammar school, "yet chose rather to incur and to pay the fine or penalty than to maintain the school;" therefore, the fine was raised to thirty pounds.

From the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620, for nearly

a century and three-quarters, education in Pilgrim and Puritan New England languished. None of these laws had proven effective in educating the children and youth of Massachusetts. During this entire period, each parent paid for such schooling as his children received, except very small sums occasionally paid by the state or colony, consequently, a few—the ministers and the wealthy only, gave their children any education. There was little interest in the education of the masses.

All of these laws lacked the one compelling feature,—a provision for the assessment of a tax against all property and the collection thereof by law to maintain schools. It was not until 1767 that an Act was passed, providing for the assessment of a tax "to pay for the support of schools and school masters, when *a major part of the inhabitants* at their annual meeting legally warned, agreed on it;" this requirement of a majority, in a great measure defeated the purpose of the Act. It was not until in the Nineteenth century that the free, common school, supported by enforced taxation, made much progress, either in New England, or in any other part of our country. The private school or academy, supported mainly by tuition, was adopted in Colonial times, and grew into general use and importance until supplanted by the High School in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Massachusetts, though it made grants of land for their support, yet with its larger population living mostly in towns and villages, in 1800, had only seventeen academies, while New York had nineteen, North Carolina thirty, and even little Delaware, had fourteen academies in the eighteenth century.

In the light of these conditions in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies during the entire Colonial period, through their neglect of education, and their decadence in morals and religion, we can understand why their people became "rude, coarse, unlettered, unmannered and sensual."

Chapter XXXIV

HARVARD COLLEGE

HARVARD COLLEGE, that now stands among the first of the great universities of our country, was founded in 1636, primarily "to advance learning and perpetuate to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall be in the dust."

The General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony agreed to give four hundred pounds towards the erection of a building "whereof two hundred pounds to be paid next year, and two hundred pounds when the work is finished." In 1638, John Harvard bequeathed his library, and "a half of his estate," which amounted to about three hundred pounds, "for the erecting of the college." There was no endowment, nor provision made for its maintenance. The General Courts made an allowance toward its support, but, until 1673, these amounts never reached one hundred pounds a year. The students were required to pay tuition; its income, however, from all sources, was inadequate for its maintenance.

In 1657, the college buildings were found to be "in a decaying condition." There were some men among these Puritans who had means, some of whom had been educated at Cambridge, but they failed to come to the

relief of the college. During the first seventy years there was a "constant struggle for existence, due to the parsimony of the government, and the religious controversies of the liberals and the orthodox." The Commissioners of the United Colonies now proposed to the Colonies "that by pecks, half bushels and bushels of wheat, according as men were free and able, the college might have some considerable help."[1] The results did not justify the expectations of the Commissioners. The salary of the President was one hundred pounds per annum in 1673. It was then raised to one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. It was, however, irregularly paid, and president Hoar remitted fifty pounds of his yearly salary.

In 1673, there was a paucity of students at Harvard. In fact, the number of students was never very large until in the last third of the nineteenth century. At its first Commencement, in 1642, nine young men were graduated from Harvard; one of these was from Plymouth; none were graduated from Harvard in the years 1644, 1648, 1672, 1682 and 1688, and only one, annually, in the years 1652, 1654, and 1655. During the first thirty years Harvard graduated an average of only six annually, and in the next forty years a yearly average of only nine. From 1701 to 1725, the number graduated each year ranged from four to forty-five, but from 1725, the number graduated each year grew less; only seventeen were graduated in the year 1753. In 1665, Massachusetts Bay Colony had a population of twenty five thousand and Plymouth five thousand, but only eight were graduated in that year from Harvard; in 1754, Massachusetts had

two hundred and seven thousand inhabitants, but only twenty were graduated that year.

In 1680, Dankers and Sluyter, travelers from Holland, visited Harvard; they "found eight or ten young fellows sitting around smoking tobacco, and the room was so full that you could hardly see; and the whole house smelt so strong of it, that when I was going upstairs, I said—this must certainly be a tavern" *** "We asked how many students there were. They said at first thirty, and then came down to twenty. I afterward understood there are not probably ten." This statement of these travelers is confirmed by the fact, that in 1682, not one student was graduated from Harvard. The College was in a "languishing and decaying condition." The grammar schools required by law as feeders for the college had either not been established, or where founded, had not been maintained; they had not produced students for the college.

A hope had been expressed that Indians might be educated at Harvard. In 1666, the Royal Commissioners reported that at Cambridge, Massachusetts "they saw but one Indian." "It was reported to them that they had three more at school."

Harvard, in fact, was little more than a grammar school, and the students were treated as youths of a grammar school. As late as 1800, Henry Adams says, "the method of instruction had not changed, being then suited to children of fourteen years; that the discipline was indifferent and the instruction poor." The students lived in dormitories; they arose at sunrise in summer

and at daybreak in winter; "At breakfast they had a small can of unsettled coffee, a biscuit and an ounce of butter, at dinner a pound of meat and two potatoes, and at supper a bowl of milk and bread." They were not always supplied with even the necessary food for existence. Nathaniel Eaton—the first President—was dismissed for misconduct, cruelty and failure to give the students proper food.

"The youths were unruly," and rules were made for their deportment, and corporal punishment for their infraction; rule 17 provided that "if any student shall violate the law of God and of this College, either from perverseness, or from gross negligence, after he shall have been twice admonished, he may be whipped, if not an adult."

Harvard was unfortunate in the selection of its Presidents, and in the religious dissensions in its Board of Overseers. Of the Presidents, some were guilty of misconduct, some were temperamentally unfit for the position, some were disputatious, and differed with the Governing Body in matters of religious beliefs and doctrines, and there were irreconcilable differences in the Body of Overseers.

Harvard was under the control of the Congregational Ministry of Massachusetts for many years. They were intensely and uncompromisingly Calvinistic and Orthodox in that faith. There gradually, however, grew up a more liberal element among the Laymen of the Board. This controversy between the Orthodox and the Liberals became very bitter. When Cotton Mather failed of

election to the Presidency about 1700, he and other Calvinists withdrew from Harvard, and interested themselves in the founding of Yale College. This new College was to be orthodox, and controlled by the ministers.

The sons of ministers, and some few of the wealthier classes were, practically, the only ones educated at Harvard during the Colonial period. "There was no course of study for one hundred and fifty years for the "Learned Professions," except for ministers. The students were interested, chiefly, in religious and theological subjects; they were mainly educated for the ministry. Lawyers were not regarded with favor by the early Puritans. A Law School was not established at Harvard until 1815, and a medical school, not until 1782. The College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Virginia, preceded Harvard by more than a century, in its law school. After the first emigrant generation of these Puritans, some of whom were graduates of English Universities, had passed, there was a decline in interest both in the rudiments and in higher and cultural education. They neither availed themselves of the opportunities afforded by their local colleges, nor did they send their sons to England for their professional and cultural education.

After an investigation, Stille reports, that from about 1760, to the Revolution there were sixty-three Americans who obtained the degree of M. D. from the University of Edinburgh, but only one of these was from New England. That during this same period, there were one hundred and fifteen young men from America studying in the different Inns of Court in London, but only one or

two of all these students came from New England. Of this body of students studying law in London, forty-seven were from South Carolina, twenty-one from Virginia, sixteen from Maryland, eleven from Pennsylvania, and five from New York, and from the "Three Lower Counties," now Delaware, one was a student in the Inns of Court, London, and one obtained his degree of Doctor of Medicine in the University of Edinburg, Scotland.

While Harvard was established primarily to train up "learned and Godly ministers," yet as the years passed, even the education of men for the ministry was neglected. So many illiterate men were serving as pastors of churches, that in 1760, the following law was passed in Massachusetts to prohibit the employment of illiterate ministers, —"Whereas some towns, districts, precincts or parishes have chosen ** and settled in the work of the ministry ignorant and illiterate persons. It is therefore ordered that none be employed, except educated men."

In 1764, the first Harvard Hall containing its library and apparatus, was destroyed by fire. It was at once rebuilt.

During the 17th century, the people, generally, the rich and prosperous, those in moderate circumstances, and even the ministers, were not interested in this one institution for higher education in all New England. In the 18th century, though Massachusetts had grown in population to over three hundred thousand by 1790, less interest was manifested in higher education than in the 17th century.

Harvard did not until long after the Civil War in 1860, take the place it now occupies in the educational and intellectual life of our country.

As we now view the intellectual life of New England, we cannot understand how such conditions as are described by writers could have obtained there during the Colonial period.

Chapter XXXV

LITERATURE

FINNEY says, that "during the eighteenth century New England became almost unbelievably destitute of "art, science, music and secular literature."

The impression that the Pre-Revolutionary Puritans and Pilgrims of Massachusetts were deeply interested in general education and literary culture, has been produced by isolated expressions and conclusions of writers, drawn from such expressions as the following,—"Let it be known," wrote Cotton Mather, "that America can embalm great persons as well as produce them, and New England can bestow an elegy as well as an education upon its heroes."

As we have seen, prior to the Revolutionary war, education was of the most elementary character. The University men, who first came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, were Puritans. Theology, however, was their chief intellectual pursuit. Some of them brought libraries with them, but they were mostly on religious subjects and the Bible. After 1642, especially during the Cromwellian period, this educated class of Puritans ceased to come to the New World. Many of those who emigrated to New England returned to England during that period. When we find, however, that these Univer-

sity Puritans suppressed every emotion of the heart, excluded from their lives whatever was beautiful in literature, art, science and music, we are justified in the conclusion that, while they may have been college men, yet they were lacking in refinement and true culture.

After this first generation passed away, there was "a distinct decline in intellectual interests." The grim austerities and fanaticism of a puritan theology fell, like a blight upon the intellectual pursuits and life of the colony. Without system in their educational methods, without teachers and schools, and surrounded by conditions that were rude, wild and free, the people became illiterate and coarse. Baron Riedesel declared in 1781, that there was not one in ten of the men who "could read writing and still fewer could write."

In their attempts at literature, these stern, harsh Puritans only exhibited "a lawless and merciless fury for the odd, the disorderly, the grotesque, the violent, strained analogies, unexpected images, pedantries, indecencies, freaks of allusion and monstrosities of phrase." The following unintelligible jargon is taken from "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam"—written by the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, a graduate of Cambridge, England. "If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise exadverse and diametrical contradictions as to compolitize such a multimonstrous manfrey of heteraclites quiequidlibets quietly, I trust I may say with all humble reverence they can do more than the Senate of Heaven."

Here is another parody from the Bay Psalm Book of some verses in the twenty-second chapter of the Psalms,

"Upon the Lord he rolled himselfe
let him deliver him, because
in him he doth delight.
"But thow art hee that me out of
the belly forth did take,
When I was on my mother's breast
to hope thou didst me make."

"The Day of Doom," a poem by the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, presents a lurid picture of hell, where every one but the elect must spend eternity. It was first published in 1662, and passed through nine editions. It "was the solace of every fireside," says Lowell. The author did, however, promise that the Good God would show some mercy to children—in these lines,—

"A crime it is, therefore in bliss
You may not hope to dwell;
But unto you I shall allow
The easiest room in hell."

The New England Primer, published in 1727, and used for nearly a century, is mute evidence of the dearth of educational ideas and intellectual poverty of the Puritans. After the alphabet and some words of easy syllables, next comes the following pious doggerel in rhyme,—

"In Adam's Fall
We sinned all."
"Zacheus he
Did climb a tree
His Lord to see."
"Young Obadias,
David, Josias
All were pious."

The writers of this period were generally ministers. Their literary efforts produced sermons, tracts and pamphlets on theological subjects, dogmatic and controversial, but they could not be called literature. John Cotton was a voluminous writer on theological subjects, but his writings are characterized as "vast tracts and jungles of puritanic discourse."

Samuel Willard was the author of a book of nine hundred pages, printed in Boston in 1726, being "A Complete Body of Divinity" in two hundred and fifty expository "Lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism," ** "A great Light thereby reflected on the present Age."

The time between 1637 and 1760, is called the "theological glacial" period by Charles Francis Adams. "It is a fact worthy of note, said Adams, that the Magnalia, by Cotton Mather, stands today the one single literary landmark in a century and a half of colonial and provincial life;" that Massachusetts produced "absolutely nothing else, not a poem nor an essay, nor a memoir, not a work of fancy or fiction of which the world has cared to take note."

Yet, this was the period so rich in the Mother Country in the English classics. Spencer, Shakespeare and "Rare Ben Johnson" had just passed, leaving a literature incomparably beautiful and rare in thought, imagery and expression. These writers were followed by Milton, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Swift, Bunyan and Goldsmith. But the chaste beauty of the poetry of Spencer was a sin, and the stage impious,—therefore, Spencer and Shakespeare were shunned by these Puritans. In fact, their

writings do not indicate that they were familiar with the English classics.

"The library at Harvard did not contain a single volume of Addison, Locke, Dryden or Swift in 1723, and Shakespeare and Milton had been but recently acquired." The intellectual, as well as the spiritual life of these Puritans, had become sterile. The Colonial period in New England was barren of literature, notwithstanding such a rich treasure house of English classics from which to draw inspiration.

It was not until about 1840, and later, that New England became pre-eminent in literature through its Concord School of writers—Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau and Alcott, and its poets—Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell and Holmes.

Chapter XXXVI

THE PRESS

THE press is the great educational organ in our country. It reaches everywhere and treats of every subject—religion, education, science, art, music, literature, politics, economics, industrialism, domestic and foreign relations, the law, the science of government etc. In fact, information and knowledge upon every subject, as well as current events, is disseminated through the press, the newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books. "Every citizen may print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty."

The first press in America was established in Massachusetts in 1638. Its purpose was not, however, to publish a newspaper, but to print books and pamphlets. Stephen Daye, an English printer, came to Boston in 1638," "bringing with him a font of type." In 1639, he printed an almanac for New England, and in 1640,—The Bay Psalm Book.

During the entire colonial period, there were about three hundred publications issued in Boston and Cambridge. "Nearly two-thirds of these were expositions of religious beliefs or writings in defense of dogmas or aids to worship; the remainder were mainly of laws, official publications, almanacs." The first and only educational book was The New England Primer, printed in 1727.

There were no newspapers whereby information and knowledge could be disseminated until 1690, when the "Public Occurrences, Foreign and Domestic" was published in Boston; its life, however, was short. It was not until 1704, that the first permanent newspaper "The Boston News Letter" was started. This was the only newspaper published anywhere in New England until 1755 in which year the "Connecticut Gazette," was published in New Haven, the seat of Yale college. Many newspapers were published in other colonies many years prior to the "Connecticut Gazette," viz,—in Philadelphia in 1719, in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1727, in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1736, and, later, others in New York and South Carolina.

Evidently, the Press in Massachusetts did not enjoy unrestricted liberty and freedom. Owing to some strictures and criticisms of the Puritan authorities, a strict censorship of the Press was established by the General Court. In the Appendix to the "Ancient Laws of Massachusetts" there is the following order of the General Court made in 1662, placing a strict censorship over printing, and limiting the number of Presses to one only, namely,—"For preventing irregularities and abuse to the authority of this country by the printing Press, it is ordered that henceforth no copy shall be printed, but by the allowance first had and obtained under the hand of Captain Daniel Gookin and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, until this Court shall take further order."

In 1664, the Court made this further order,—"For preventing irregularities and abuse of the authority

of the country by the printing press, it is ordered by the Court and the authority thereof that there shall be no printing press allowed in any town within this jurisdiction but in Cambridge. Nor shall any person or persons presume to print any copy but by the allowance first had and obtained under the hands of the Court, shall from time to time empower the President of the College, Mr. John Sherman, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell and Mr. Thomas Shepherd, or any two of them, to survey such copies and to prohibit or allow the same according to this order."

In 1681, the General Court made the following order,— "Mr. Samuel Sewell ** being prevailed upon to undertake the management of the printing press in Boston ** liberty is accordingly granted him for the same by order of this Court and none may presume to set up any other press without like liberty first granted."

These orders of suppression and censhorship, limiting the number of presses and restricting the liberty of the press, were made by the Puritan Authorities.

In 1688, the King appointed Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of the "Territory and Dominion of New England," and authorized him "to provide by all necessary means that no person keep any printing press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet, or other matter, whatsoever, be printed without his special leave and license first obtained."

In 1719, the Governor's right to exercise this authority over the press was denied and successfully resisted by the Puritan Authorities.

Virginia had no printing press until long after one had

been set up in New England. It was not, however, through the prohibition or laws of censorship by the Colonists, such as we find on the statute books of New England, but through the restrictive measures of the Royal Governor in prohibiting the printing of anything without a special license first obtained.

Sir William Berkeley, who came to Virginia as Royal Governor of the Colony in 1641, said in 1671, "I thank God, there are no free schools or printing" ** in Virginia.

The same attitude toward printing, and prohibitive policy was pursued by the Royal Governor, Lord Culpepper. The following orders made by him interdicting the printing, even, of the laws of the colony, are found in the notes to Hening's Statutes of Virginia,—"February 21, 1682, John Buckner was called before Lord Culpepper and his council for printing the laws of 1680, without his Excellency's license, and the printer was ordered to enter into bond in one hundred pounds, not to print anything thereafter until his Majesty's pleasure should be known."

"In 1683, a printer had actually commenced his business in Virginia, but was prohibited by the Royal Governor and his council from printing anything."

Chapter XXXVII

EDUCATION AND THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE VIRGINIA COLONISTS

IN New England, the people were mostly settled in towns and villages, while in Virginia there were very few towns; the Virginia Colonists were scattered, living on plantations. Conditions, therefore, were much more favorable for the education of children in New England than in Virginia. Notwithstanding these conditions, there was greater interest in education, not only by the wealthier classes but, also, by the poor, in Virginia than in New England, during the colonial period.

These Virginia Colonists were keenly alive to the importance of education for the children of all classes—rich and poor. The reputation of the Virginia Colonists to the contrary, grew out of the answer of Sir William Berkeley, the Royal Governor in 1671, to an inquiry by the Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations as to the course "taken about the instructing the people ** in the Christian religion, and what provision is there made for the paying your ministry." Governor Berkeley answered, the question concerning religious instructions and the support of the ministry,—"The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. We have forty-eight

parishes and our ministers are well paid." He then continued along a line not germain to the questions of the Commissioners, answering in the words that are quoted by every writer and historian as showing a shameful lack of interest in education by the Colonists,—"But I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government, God keep us from both."

This Royal Governor only voiced his own sentiments. He spoke from the view point of an ardent and intense Royalist. He did not understand, nor represent the spirit, nor sympathize with the aims, purposes or interests of these early Virginia Colonists. He was an alien on Virginia soil.

His rule was oppressive and tyrannical in the extreme. "None but tyrants dread the diffusion of knowledge and liberty of the press." In 1649, through his oppressive laws, one thousand non-conformists,—Puritans, Quakers and other dissenters, left Virginia and settled in Maryland. He caused his Royal Council to pass laws prohibiting Puritans, Quakers and other non-conformists from coming to Virginia. In 1660, at the end of the Cromwellian regime, a House of Burgesses, composed of Royalists subservient to his wishes and policies, was elected to the General Assembly. Berkeley and this House, usurping the civil rights of the people, remained in office fourteen years without an election during that entire period.

Berkeley's tyranny, and the oppressive burdens laid

upon the people by the new King, Charles II. culminated in Bacon's rebellion in 1676, Berkeley's flight to the place now known as Onancock on the eastern shore of Virginia, and the burning of Jamestown. The rebellion ended with the death of Bacon, and Berkeley returned to Jamestown.

The vengeance wreaked upon Bacon's followers by Berkeley was without mercy. He whipped those who dared speak disrespectfully of his rule; he confiscated the property of those engaged in the rebellion and hanged twenty-two of the patriots. Berkeley was, finally ,called home by Charles II. who said of him, "that old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I for the murder of my father."

This is the record of the man, who, as Royal Governor, discouraged "learning" and prohibited "printing" in Virginia.

Historians and writers have, universally, quoted this libel of Berkeley as evidence that the Virginia Colonists neither had schools, nor desired them, nor educated their children, nor desired the Printing Press. Nothing could be farther from the truth, as the following facts, gleaned from ancient records and the history of Virginia, will show. There are many Acts of the Colonial Assembly elected by the people, and orders of the courts, providing for education.

The term "Gentlemen" has been applied as one of reproach to the Virginia Colonists. These "Gentlemen" were younger sons of the nobility, or from the wealthier and better classes in England who educated their children. Great numbers of the aristocracy, merchants, tradesmen

and others in the higher walks of life, came to Virginia during the seventeenth century, especially during the Cromwellian period. The ministers were educated in the Universities of England; many of the indentured servants were young men of education, who served for a time to pay their passage over; some of them became tutors in the families of the planters. There were many in the convict class, who were not criminals, but political offenders deported for their offenses against the Ruling Powers. They were men of education from the higher walks of life in England and Scotland. It did not require many years for these servants, both voluntary and involuntary, to rise out of their condition of servitude. They married and had families and children growing around them. There was, therefore, among all classes, rich and poor, in the Colony, an interest in the education of their children.

As early as 1619, measures were taken to provide for the higher education of the youth of the Colony, and to found a college in Virginia. Fifteen hundred pounds were raised to build a college at Henrico, near where Richmond now stands. The practical fact was, also, recognized that it was not only necessary to erect buildings for a college, but that means should be provided for its support. Fifteen thousand acres of land were appropriated for its support. During the years 1619 and 1620, one hundred laborers under the charge of Mr. George Thorpe were sent over to cultivate this land, and produce revenue for the support of the college.

In order to prepare students for the college the Vir-

ginia Company bade the Governor to see "that each town, borough and hundred procured, by just means, a certain number of their children to be brought up in the first elements of literature, that the most towardly of them should be fitted for college." Funds were raised to establish a free school at Charles City as a feeder for the college at Henrico.

In the Indian massacre, in March 1622, George Thorpe, the superintendent, and many of the college tenants were murdered, and the buildings and improvements were burned. This calamity destroyed the hope of establishing a college at Henrico.

Again in 1660, steps were taken by the House of Burgesses to establish a college, but without success. It was, however, the preliminary step to the founding of a college at a later date.

In 1693, The College of William and Mary was established at Williamsburg, Virginia, through the efforts of the Rev. James Blair, an Espicopal clergyman. He became its first President and remained in that office until 1741.

While the College was under the auspices of the Episcopal Church, yet it was intended, not only to educate men for the ministry, but to provide, also, for giving to the youth of the Colony a broad and liberal education.

The charter of the College granted by William and Mary stated that the purpose in establishing the College was "that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated *in good letters and manners*, and

that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God; ** to make, found and establish a certain place of universal study, or perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good *Arts and Sciences.*"

Here, the youth were educated in all the "Learned Professions"—"The ministry, the law, and medicine," the sciences, the classics, general literature, political economy and the philosophy of government.

From an old catalogue of "William and Mary," we find that this College was the first in America to teach many subjects. In addition to divinity, moral philosophy, Latin, Greek and mathematics, it established chairs for the teaching of the following subjects, which were taught for the first time in any American College. As early as 1729, Oriental Languages were taught by Charles Bellini and Rev. Francis Fontaine. In 1779, the Hon. George Wythe taught law, and Dr. James McClung had a chair of anatomy and medicine. In 1774, natural Philosophy and chemistry were taught, and in 1777, Rev. James Madison, the President of the College, taught political economy, and a chair of history was established in the latter part of the 18th century.

In order to encourage and develop a love for broader culture—literature, the classics and philosophy—a gold medal was given, annually, one "to the best classical scholar, and the other to the best scholar in philosophy."

"It had until the Revolution a better course of instruction than Harvard, Yale, Nassua Hall (now Princeton University), King's College (now Columbia University), University of Pennsylvania, Brown or Dartmouth."

The Phi. Beta. Kappa Society was organized at the College of William and Mary in December, 1776.

It was the foremost and richest college in America until after the Revolution.

Fiske pays a high and deserved tribute to The College of William and Mary in "Old Virginia and her Neighbors." "It was the first college in America," he says, "to introduce teaching by lectures and the elective system of study. It was the first to unite a group of faculties into a University. It was the second in the English world to have a chair of Municipal Law, George Wythe coming to such professorship a few years after Sir William Blackstone. It was the first in America to establish a chair of history and political science, and it was the first to pursue a thoroughly secular and unsectarian policy, though, until lately, its number of students at any one time had never reached one hundred and fifty."

In the early part of the 18th century, an effort was made to provide for the education of Indians at the College. In 1691, the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esq. died in England, bequeathing a certain part of his personal estate for charitable and pious uses, and recommending that it should be used "for the advancement of the Christtian religion."

This money was invested in the purchase of the manor of Brafferton, in the county of York, England. The executors granted ninety pounds per annum out of the rents, "for propagating the gospel in New England,"—the one-half thereof, forty-five pounds, to be paid two ministers to instruct the natives, and the remaining forty-five

pounds to be transmitted to the President of Harvard College to be used to pay the salary of two ministers to 'teach the natives in or near the College there, the christian religion." The remainder of the rents over and above the ninety pounds, was to be "laid out for the advancement of the christian religion in Virginia."

A brick building was erected at Williamsburg, Va., out of the money received from this charity, which still stands on the Campus of "William and Mary" known as the Brafferton building, for an "Indian School, and for the lodging of such Indian Children" as were brought there.

The Presidents and Masters of William and Mary College were directed to "keep at the said College so many Indian children in sickness and in health, in meat, drink, washing, lodging, clothes, medicine, books, and education from the first beginning of letters till they should ** be thought sufficient to be sent abroad to preach and convert the Indians." Some young Indians were brought to the College, and taught to "read and write," but on their return to their tribes they soon fell into "their own savage customs and heathenish rites."

Williamsburg was the Capital of Colonial Virginia. It was the social, intellectual and political center of Colonial life in America.

The Capital City, with its College situated at one end, the Capitol at the other end of the Duke of Gloucester Street, and the Palace of the Royal Governors midway between them, where the "Mattey Whaley School" building now stands, with its miniature lake and English

SUNDAY MORNING IN OLD VIRGINIA.

BRUTON PARISH CHURCH, WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, ABOUT 1760.

garden of flowers fronting the Palace after the fashion of the Royal Palaces of the Mother Country, and with its famous Raleigh Tavern, was the scene of many brilliant functions. Here in Bruton Parish Church, could be heard on Sunday the strains of music on the organ by Peter Pelham, the musician. There was in Williamsburg a richness in dress, a courtliness and refinement of manner, in both men and women, that indicated a high degree of culture.

The Rev. Hugh Jones, writing of the social life in this Colonial city, says, Many of the families "lived in the same neat manner, dress after the same modes and behaved themselves exactly as the gentry in London. Most families of any note, having a coach, chariot, berlin or chaise." Meade says of this Colonial Capital, that "Williamsburg was once the miniature copy of the Court of St. James, ** while the old church (Bruton) and its graveyard and the College Chapel were ** the Westminster Abbey and the St. Paul's of London, where the great ones were interred."

In this old graveyard of Bruton Parish Church, are many tombstones on which are graven the names and Coat of Arms of men of aristocratic lineage who came from England to Virginia in the 17th century.

The College of William and Mary was the Alma Mater of descendants of these men, and of others who, though not of noble birth, yet, were of the better classes of Englishmen. These sons of the old College, and others whose names are inseparably associated with it, rose to the highest positions in Colonial days and after the Revolution

in Church, on the Bench, in the Halls of Legislation, and to the Presidency of our Nation.

Herbert B. Adams calls The College of William and Mary the "Alma Mater of Statesmen."

Washington, Jefferson, Randolph, Lee, Marshall, Henry, Madison, Monroe, Harrison, John Tyler and others are conspicuous for the important part which they played, not only during the Revolution, but, also, in shaping the destiny of our infant democracy during the first half century of our National life. During this period, no other part of our country produced so many leaders in the intellectual and political life of our nation as Virginia.

The Hon. George F. Hoar, in an address delivered in Congress, said of The College of William and Mary that "The great principles on which the rights of man depend, which inspired the statesmen of Virginia of the period of the Revolution, are the fruits of her teaching.

To the sons of this historic College is largely due the credit of having conceived, formulated and crystalized in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States, the basic principles of democracy on which our nation is founded. They were students of the science of government, and of "the eternal rights of man;" they were men of education, culture and ability.

There were many able men in the "Continental Congresses," but "from Virginia," Fisher says, "came the best delegates of all, calm, judicious, earnest patriots with a very broad range of ability."

In writing of the debates in the conventions of the various States in 1788, on the question of the ratification

of the Constitution, Albert J. Beveridge says, "The debates in the Virginia Convention of 1788, are the only masterful discussions on both sides of the controversy that ever took place." ******* "In Virginia's Convention, the array of ability, distinction and character on both sides was notable, brilliant, and impressive. The strongest debaters in the land were there, the most powerful orators, and some of the most scholarly statesmen; Seldom, in any land or age, has so gifted and accomplished a group of men contended in argument and discussion at one time and place."

John and Samuel Adams, both Harvard graduates, were, by far, the ablest of the four delegates from Massachusetts. But the entire Massachusetts delegation were narrow, irreconcilable radicals who were "hot for extreme measures;" they were revolutionists who would stake all on their immature plans for immediate independence. They had not been trained in the science of government; they lacked the poise, the calm judgment, the far-seeing vision of constructive statesmen.

Samuel Adams was an agitator, rather than a statesman.

"Mr. Adams character may be defined in a few words," says Wells, "He is *** a republican in politics, possessed of as much learning as is necessary to disguise the truth with sophistry, and so complete a moralist that it is one of his favorite maxims that 'The end will justify the means,' when to such accomplished talents and principles we add an empty pocket, an unbounded ambition, and a violent disaffection to Great Britain, we shall be able to form some idea of Mr. Samuel Adams."

In the lecture rooms of this "Ancient Mother of Learning," in Virginia, were inculcated the principles and ideals that "gave to the nation the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia Plan of the Constitution, the development of the Constitution through the great Chief Justice, and the Monroe Doctrine."

The proposal to establish at the Ancient College of William and Mary, "The Marshall-Wythe School of Government and Citizenship" is an appropriate and fitting tribute for her part in the great work of founding our nation.

The College of William and Mary has suffered a succession of calamities in its history. The first college buildings, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, were destroyed by fire in December, 1705, together with the library and philosophical apparatus. This calamity, coming so soon after the founding of the College, was a serious blow. The building was rebuilt, but it was not until 1723, that the buildings were fully restored.

During the Revolutionary war, the buildings were occupied, alternately, by the British, French and American troops. The buildings were again injured by fire, and the President's house was destroyed. After the close of the war, the French rebuilt the College buildings at their own expense.

Again, in 1859, the buildings were destroyed by fire, together with the laboratory and library, which contained many rare and curious books. Within one year after the fire "The new College edifice" was completed and fully furnished.

In May, 1861, came the Civil War. The Buildings were used as barracks by the Confederate forces until evacuated by them in 1862. The Union forces then took possession, burned the buildings, and retained possession of the premises until the close of the war. These many disasters repeatedly interrupted the work of the College, and seriously interfered with its progress.

After the close of the Civil War the college was reopened, and with the assistance of distinguished persons from every part of the country, the buildings were finally restored. It was not, however, until 1869, that the College reopened with its full faculty, and it was several years later before it was fully equipped and restored. The marvel is, that The College of William and Mary survived these many disasters.

It is interesting to trace the development and growth of education and the interest of the aristocratic and wealthy classes in the education, not only of their own children, but, also, of the children of the humbler classes in Colonial Virginia.

It is true that Virginia was settled mainly by Royalists, men of noble lineage and of the better classes, and therefore "society was laid out on the aristocratic basis." It is not true, however, that the wealthy colonists educated their own children, but "felt little or no interest in the instruction of the common people."

It is a fact worthy of note, that it was through the benevolence of men from these higher classes that free schools were established for the education of the poor at a very early period in Colonial Virginia. Dr. Lyon G. Tyler,

former President of The College of William and Mary, has given us many instances of the founding and endowing free schools in Virginia.

The first free school was opened in Elizabeth City in 1624.

In 1635, Benjamin Symmes donated two hundred acres of land, a good house and forty milch cows to establish and support a free school in Elizabeth County for the children of the Parishes of Elizabeth City and Kicquotan; in 1649, this school possessed a "fine house."

In 1659, a free school was established by Thomas Eaton. "A fund of ten thousand dollars, representing these two charities, was used for a long period to carry on the "Symmes-Eaton Academy at Hampton. The High School at Hampton is now called the Symmes-Eaton School.

In 1655, Captain John Moon, of Isle of Wight county, left a legacy for the education of "poor fatherless children;' Captain William Whittington, in 1659, left two thousand pounds of tobacco for a free school in Northampton County; in 1668, Captain Henry King, of Isle of Wight County, gave one hundred acres of land for the maintenance of a free school, and in 1675, Henry Peasly, of Gloucester County, gave six hundred acres of land, ten cows and a breeding mare for the education of the children of Abingdon and Ware Parishes; "This school continued its work for eighty years without interruption."

In 1691, Hugh Campbell gave two hundred acres of land, in each of the three counties of Norfolk, Isle of Wight and Nansemond for the support of persons to

teach school, and in 1700, William Horton endowed a free school in Westmoreland County.

"Mrs. Mary Whaley established a free school in York county in 1706, Samuel Sanford one in Accomac, on the eastern shore, in 1710, and William Broadribes one in James City County about the same time."

There was no free public school system in any of the Colonies in pre-Revolutionary times, but the people of Virginia began and continued establishing these free schools until there was one or more in every county. "Whenever such schools were wanting," says Dr. Tyler, "the citizens clubbed together and organized private schools, of which there were sometimes as many as four in a Parish."

In 1703, Beverly, the Virginia Historian, wrote that "free schools for the education of children in many parts of the country ** had been founded by the legacies of well inclined gentlemen, and the management hath been commonly left to the direction of the County Courts, or the Vestry of their respective Parishes."

There are many Acts of the House of Burgesses, and orders of the Courts concerning the education of children.

In 1641, an Act was passed by the House of Burgesses, providing that all "Masters of families shall send their children and servants to the minister to be instructed and catechised." "The County Courts supervised the vestries, and held a yearly "Orphans Court," which looked after the material and educational welfare of orphans."

In 1642, the House of Burgesses passed an Act,

providing that all overseers and guardians of such orphans are enjoined by the authorities "to educate and instruct them according to their best endeavors in christian religion and in the rudiments of learning."

In 1655, an Act was passed, providing that orphans should be "educated upon the interest of the estate, if it will bear it, according to the proportion of the estate." It was further made the duty of the Courts to inquire whether orphans be kept, maintained and educated according to their estates.

As the Colonists pushed their way back from the coast, and made homes for their families in remote districts, counties were organized and courts were established in each county. The Mother Church followed these English settlers into the wilderness, and the country was divided into parishes, and a church was established in each Parish. In 1671, there were forty-eight parishes in the colony, and at least one church and a minister in every parish.

In order to provide for the education of the children, whether in the thickly settled or remote parts of the country, "the vestries of the different churches had the supervision of all poor children in their parishes and saw that they were taught reading and writing."

These acts of generosity, and the provisions for education through the courts and vestries evidence a deep interest, a liberal and broad minded attitude of the wealthy, the intelligent and ruling classes in Virginia, in the education of all children.

In order to provide for the education of children of the better and wealthier classes private schools and academies

were established. These were patronized not only by the wealthy, but by many of the humbler people. Beginning as early as 1619, those who were able to do so, either employed tutors in their families to teach their children, or educated them in England.

It was inevitable, that Colonies in the New World should suffer from many undesirable emigrants. Virginia, as well as New England, was afflicted with them. But in Virginia the undesirable class passed away without leaving their impress upon the country.

The Virginia Colonists, in the main, were a very different type from those of Plymouth. Of the one hundred and five who came to Jamestown in May, 1607, about one-half were classed as "gentlemen." Notwithstanding the disparaging expressions of historians, these "gentlemen" were the men who endured the hardships and disease, and survived, while the laborers died during that fatal sickness of the first year.

The better type of Colonists continued to come to Virginia in large numbers in the early years of the Colony. During Cromwellian times, especially, and for years afterwards thousands of the aristocracy, merchants, and men of the better classes emigrated to Virginia. In the midst of the hardships, privations, sickness, disease and famine, this class, from better physical condition, intelligence in caring for themselves, sheer force of will and courage, survived. The lower mentality of the undesirables,—the criminal convicts and servant class, their ignorance in caring for themselves, their physical unfitness and weakened constitutions, without the will power

and courage to sustain them, caused them to succumb to the hard labor, privations, disease and the climate. They died by the thousands. According to Mr. Jefferson, "the mortality among the white servants was so dreadful, that the descendants of the undesirable and convict class at the time of the revolution, after a century and a half, would not exceed four thousand." The doctrine of the survival of the fittest obtained in Virginia.

Governor Spottswood wrote in 1710, "I have observed less swearing and prophaneness, less drinking and debauchery, less undesirable feuds and animosities and less knavery and villanys, in Virginia, than in any part of the world where my lot has been." Hammond, in "Leah and Rachel," says, that "he was an eye witness in England to more deceits and villainies in four months than he saw or heard mentioned in Virginia in twenty years abode there."

It was this better class, these "gentlemen" and their descendants, who dominated the social, economic, political, and religious life of Virginia in Colonial days. Under their leadership, Virginia grew in prosperity, wealth, culture, and in statesmanship. The descendants of these emigrants, largely, conceived and directed the policies of our Country during our early, experimental stages in democracy.

They believed that liberty and independence could only be preserved by a stable government based on law and order.

Virginia was the "Cradle of our Republic."

The restraints of law and orderly government never appealed to the intolerant nature of the Puritan.

During pre-revolutionary days, they were ever defiant, even to the extent of violence, of interference with their policies; nor did peace with the Mother Country bring tranquility to the New England Colonies.

Liberty was construed by them as license. An attempt was made to substitute mob rule for law and order.

In 1786, mobs grew to an army of sixteen thousand men under the leadership of Captain Daniel Shay. These insurrectionists refused to pay taxes, and marched from place to place closing the Courts to prevent the collection of debts. They were against all government.

"My boys," 'one of these insurrectionists cried' "you are going to fight for liberty. If you wish to know what liberty is, I will tell you. It is for every man to do what he pleases, to make other folks do as you please to have them, and to keep folks from going to the devil."

In the Parliament building in London, there are two historical paintings, one on either side of the corridor leading from the House of Commons to the House of Lords. On the one side, the artist has painted the Puritan with cropped hair and stern countenance, pushing his boat into the waters bound for the New World. On the opposite wall, the artist has painted the type that colonized Virginia,—a figure with an aristocratic bearing and noble face, with his hair falling to his shoulders, his ruffles, velvet coat, silken hose and silver shoe buckles. There is a refinement and intellectual force in this Colonist that only an association with the finer things in life can give. There is no greater strength of character in his face than in that of the Puritan, but the artist has caught the vision,

and portrayed in the face and mien of this Virginian that subtle and intangible inheritance of generations of men surrounded with the refinements of education, culture, art, painting, music and literature.

There were very few non-conformists and dissenters in Virginia. These Colonists were of the Established Church. The gentler teachings of Christ and the New Testament were not there superceded by the harsher tenets and merciless cruelties of the Mosaic Laws. The Church followed the settlers into the wilderness; ministers were sent and houses of worship were built in these outlying parishes. The clergymen were teachers as well as ministers.

The Virginia clergy, Meade says, during the century and a half of colonial days, were intelligent, well educated. and with few exceptions, moral, of good character and christian gentlemen. For nearly a century these men were educated in the Universities of England, and later, at the College of William and Mary.

Although of the Established Church, yet the Colonists were tolerant. The instances of intolerance recorded in history were by the Royal Governors, and not by the Colonists.

The English Church brought the finer things into the lives of the people. Its architecture, painting, sculpture, music and literature, its rich and beautiful ceremonies created a love for the beautiful in the people; its ritual and prayers brought the soul in closer touch with the Divine Master. These English Colonists transplanted their Anglican Church in the wilderness of Virginia, and

found in it the solace, comfort, and safeguards of religion, through its holy associations and ministries.

Alike, in the wilderness, on the banks of the James and the shores of the Chesapeake, the holy and sacred ordinances of the church were observed. The minister was there, uniting youth and maiden in marriage, baptizing the little ones, bringing the consolations of religion to the sorrowing, and performing the last sad rites at the grave of the beloved dead. These Virginia Colonists were surrounded by those sacred and spiritual influences that tend to keep the lives of men and women sweet and pure; that developed all that was noblest and best in the pioneer life of the Colonists.

These Churches, with their appeals to the highest and best in men, and these clergymen devoting their lives to the cultivation of the religious and spiritual in the settlers, could not have had other than a refining influence on the people.

The Virginia Colonists brought with them a love and reverence for the customs of their English homes and the institutions of the Church. They kept in close touch with their friends and relatives across the sea; England was still home to them. The Pilgrims and Puritans, however, came to New England to escape these institutions, both of Church and State.

Many of the Virginia homes and estates had their gardens, modeled after those at home. Their children were educated either in England or in the schools in Virginia. While in the remote districts the opportunities for education could not have been otherwise than limited,

yet they received the rudiments and as good an education as the children in the rural districts of England.

These settlers brought with them into the wilderness the influences of association with education in the older settlements of Virginia. Some of the ablest men in the "Continental Congress" and Constitutional Conventions were from the backwoods of Virginia. It is said, that the English classics and the Spectator were found in many homes. The libraries of these settlers, of which there were many, were not confined to works on theological subjects. The polished and courtly William Byrd, of Westover, in 1718, possessed a library of nearly four thousand volumes. It was not a collection of books, merely, on theological subjects. It was the library of a cultured and broad minded gentleman, containing books on all subjects,—secular, religious, scientific, political, historical, the classics and general literature.

This survey of conditions enables us to understand the statement of the traveler, J. F. D. Smythe, who said, in 1773, that in Virginia "The first class are here more respectable and numerous than in any other province in America. These in general have had a liberal education, possess enlightened understanding and a thorough knowledge of the world that furnishes them with an ease and freedom of manners and conversation highly to their advantage in exterior, which no vicissitude of fortune or place can divest them of."

Chapter XXXVIII

CONCLUSION

WAS it the voice of God, or the persuasive appeals, and the desire of ambitious leaders to plant a Colony in the New World, that called these Leyden Separatists to America? Was it not the alluring picture of material, rather than spiritual welfare, that induced them to emigrate?

The inspiring motive of these leaders was not to found a church in the wilderness, where their people would be free from the authority and ceremonials of the English Church, nor that they might lead the savages to a knowledge of the gospel. If the Church was in their minds, it was that it might be used as a foundation upon which they could build their civil government. Their dream was not of a spiritual, but a temporal kingdom.

These leaders did, in fact, control the life, and shape the destiny of the Colony. William Bradford and Edward Winslow were the Supreme Rulers for a period of thirty-five years, and Josiah Winslow, a son of Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence and Thomas Hinckley during the remainder of the life of Plymouth as an independent colony. Plymouth Colony, under their rule, had but a comparatively short and inglorious existence. It did not survive because its Rulers did not possess those

broad ideals of democracy, which would have given it the right to a place in the sisterhood of Colonies which gave birth to our Nation.

"Some men are born great," and "some achieve greatness." These Pilgrim Fathers were neither born great, nor did they achieve greatness. They have been clothed with all the virtues; righteousness and religious zeal have been ascribed to them; they have been invested with the wisdom of far-seeing statesmen who caught the vision of a nation—a democracy, "of the people, by the people and for the people." But these virtues and attributes were created for them by posterity. To the poet, the artist and historians of New England belong the credit for creating a deeply religious people, and endueing them with the virtues, wisdom and statesmanship which produced our nation.

These men were not of the stuff of which empire builders are made. Neither from early environment, native ability, experience, education, religious tolerance, or knowledge of state-craft, were they fitted to found a nation. The farthest from their thought, was universal liberty of conscience and religious freedom, or of a civil government where all the people should have a voice. An Oligarchy was their dream and aim.

They encouraged and fostered neither the school nor the Church, neither education nor religion,—the chief cornerstones of a democracy.

Liberty, equality of rights, the franchise to all men, education, humanitarianism, the Church, the christian religion and "liberty of conscience,"—these are the virtues

that elevate a people and society to the heights in national life. The Pilgrim Fathers lived on the lower levels of civil and religious life. They never looked above the foot hills to the heights beyond where sits enthroned—true democracy.

To one who studies the history of Plymouth Colony, it is apparent that the Pilgrim Fathers did not in any way, influence the intellectual, moral, religious or political life of our nation.

Bibliography

History of Plimoth Plantation—William Bradford.
Plymouth Colony Records—1623-1682.
The General History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles—John Smith.
Ancient Charters and Laws of Massachusetts Bay Colony.
The Bay Psalm Book.
History of New England—John G. Palfrey.
Catalogue of Harvard College, 1636-1895.
The Puritan in Holland, England and America—Douglas Campbell, A. M. L. L. B.
The Puritan as a Colonist and Reformer—Ezra Hoyt Byington.
The Puritan Republic—Daniel Wait Howe.
The Bay Colony—William Dummer Northend, L. L. D.
The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts—Richard P. Hallowell.
In the Days of the Pilgrim Fathers—Mary Caroline Crawford.
Courtship of Miles Standish—Henry W. Longfellow.
The Pilgrim's Vision—Oliver Wendell Holmes.
Poems—John G. Whittier.
Statutes and Laws of Virginia—1619-1808—William W. Hening.

The History of The College of William and Mary—1660-1874.
The Cradle of the Republic—Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, L. L. D.
Colonial Days—Alice Morse Earle.
Colonial Virginia—J. A. C. Chandler and T. B. Thames.
The Old Dominion—Thomas Nelson Page.
Old Virginia and Her Neighbors—John Fiske.
The Story of the South—Charles Morris.
Education in Delaware—Lyman P. Powell, L. L. D. D. D.
The American Public School—Ross L. Finney, Ph. D.
Social and Economic Forces in American History—Edited by Albert Hart Bushnell, L. L. D.
The Spirit of America—Henry Van Dyke, L. L. D.
Bundling—Henry Reed Stiles.
Life and Times of John Dickinson—Charles J. Stille, L. L. D.
Life of John Marshall—Albert J. Beveridge.
Milton—Thomas Babington Macauley.
Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia—Bishop William Mead.
History of the America People—Woodrow Wilson.
The Rise of the Dutch Republic—J. L. Motley.
History of the United States—Henry Adams.
The Outline of History—H. G. Wells.
Economic and Social History of New England—William B. Weeden
Historic Towns of New England—Edited by Lyman P. Powell, L. L. D. D. D.
History of the English People—J. R. Green.
Annals of Philadelphia—John Watson.